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FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
CHILD LABOR, THE WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION
CAMPAIGN FOR FEDERAL LEGISLATION

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EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

Peace has its need of man power no less than war, and so the end of the war must bring no relaxation of effort to secure a federal child labor law to take the place of the Act of 1916, **KEEPING UP THE FIGHT** which was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last June. The enactment of such a law should be made a part of the American program of reconstruction. National efficiency in the future requires a continuance of our wartime policy of conservation; let us be thrifty with our material resources, but let us be more thrifty than heretofore with our most precious resources—the children of the nation. They represent potential man power. Man power, of which so much has been said during the war, is a national conception and a national issue, and as we take up the duties and obligations of peace it remains a national conception and a national issue. This man power will be needed not only for purposes of industrial and economic prosperity, but for the spiritual development of American life—for the furtherance, in particular, of democratic ideals and actualities. Soldiers and civilians have been fighting a war for democracy, but the children of today must “carry on” tomorrow for democracy; and it is quite essential, if they are to do this wisely and successfully, that they should be fit for the work. A logical way of translating the phrase “constructive democracy” into practical effect is to build up democracy by beginning with the children, saving them from the exploitation that stunts and perverts their development, in health, intelligence and morals, and keeping them in school where they can be trained both for individual efficiency and for civic usefulness.

Since the Committee began working for a national remedy for the national evil and menace of child labor, there has been a great public awakening to the need of such a **TAXATION METHOD** remedy. The war that is now closing has developed the humanitarian spirit of our people at the same time that it has enhanced our national-mindedness. Concerted action by the friends of the constitutional federal

legislation that is needed in the war against this undemocratic, intolerable thing, child labor, will certainly bring us victory. It is believed that a federal child-labor measure, based on the taxing power of Congress, offers a constitutional means of doing to child labor products (so far as mines, quarries, canneries and factories are concerned) exactly what was done to state bank notes, artificially colored oleomargarine and poisonous phosphorus matches—viz., tax them out of existence. The American constitution, the preamble of which begins, "We the people," was never intended to stand in the way either of national progress or of moral progress. The primary purpose, says Henry Cabot Lodge, was to make the will of the people supreme. If new measures are not presented to the Supreme Court from time to time there can be no development of our constitutional law; it would stagnate by the fault of the legislatures, and of the people behind the legislatures. Before a federal child-labor law can be subjected to judicial scrutiny, it must first be passed by Congress. Federal legislation on this subject is up to Congress—and the people. Now is the time:

"Come, while the nation feels the lift
Of a great impulse shouting forwards!"

Child labor has greatly increased in this country since the federal child-labor act of 1916 went out of effect. This statement is made officially by the United States Department of Labor and is based on figures collected by the CHILD LABOR Children's Bureau of that Department. In a recent special report on the employment of children in canneries, the Bureau says there has been a large increase in the number of workers between 7 and 16 years of age. Inspections of 270 canneries in two states showed 1,094 children under 14 at work. A similar increase was found in other canning states. "Very young children have been employed in the vegetable canneries during the season just past. Many of these children managed to escape all school laws. These are employed a large part of each year at irregular hours and live usually in unsanitary and crowded camps." Several articles in this number of the *Bulletin* give information about the increase of child labor during the war, and particularly since the 1916 act was declared invalid.

The opening of the schools for the fall term gave the Children's Bureau an opportunity to find to what extent children were leaving school prematurely, whether those who had worked on vacation permits were returning, and, in general, the conditions among working children. A series of inquiries were made in typical industrial and commercial centers to throw light on these and other questions. The cities studied include New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Washington, Wilmington, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, and several smaller cities. In Washington it was found that this year 1,095 permits to work either outside school hours or full time had been granted under the law which permits children of 12 or 13 to work, if, in the opinion of the Juvenile Court, the poverty of the family justifies it. In 1916-17 only 277 such permits were issued. This is an increase of 295 per cent. The number of children from 14 to 16 who were granted regular working permits rose from 727 in 1916-17 to 1,917 this year—an increase of 164 per cent. In Wilmington 61 per cent more children have taken out permits this year than last. Practically all of this 61 per cent have definitely left school to enter industry on full time. Reports of greatly increased shifting from job to job seem to indicate that the child is not finding in his work a steadily progressing training. The figures do not show that children are staying at their jobs more steadily because of higher wages, or that they are staying long enough to gain from their industrial training experience which will make them increasingly useful.

"The school is your training camp. Don't be a deserter." This is what the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor is saying to the thousands of children who are leaving the schools for industry, dazzled by the present high wages offered. Jobs that offer very little training, and less hope of a future are being taken unquestioningly by the youngsters who "don't like school anyway" and think they are "old enough to work," or who feel the urge of home necessity. The Children's Bureau has just announced a Back-to-School Drive whose object may be stated in the President's words "That no child may have less opportunity for education because of the war." The drive will attempt two things: to return

to the schools and keep there the children who have deserted them for industry, and to keep the children now in school from leaving prematurely. The actual work of the drive will be done through the Child Conservation Section of the Council of National Defense which was organized into state, county, and local units. In each school community committees are being formed whose first duty will be to study child labor and school attendance laws. After that they will go to the county superintendent, the school principals, and teachers to get accurate lists of the children who have not returned to school. Then begins the real work of getting the children back. Parents will be called upon, and the committee members will talk over with them why it is important not only to the child but to the country that he be well prepared for work before attempting it. Where the reasons for leaving were pecuniary an adjustment will be attempted so that the child can return. The Bureau urges that the adjustment take the form of a scholarship similar to those in practically all of the colleges, and in certain city school systems. The average amount of school scholarships is \$120 a year, and it is hoped that as a result of the Drive an average of at least one will be founded for each of the 281,000 school houses in the United States. The Red Cross will help to keep in school those children who have a father or brother in the service. In connection with the campaign the Children's Bureau plans to publish a comparison of the state laws on child labor and compulsory education, so that each state—forty-one legislatures will have sessions this winter—may know just where it stands in relation to the other commonwealths.

Throughout the country side by side with reports that unemployment is prevalent are reports that child labor is steadily and rapidly increasing. It should be obvious,

UNEMPLOYMENT even to the superficial mind, that the abatement of one abuse would aid in the correction of the other. Little children are forced into tasks unsuitable to their strength and judgment, and are at the same time robbed of education and the natural pleasures of childhood. Why not put unemployed men at these tasks, thus saving their vigor and moral stamina to society and by the same act release the children for a course in health and proper education?

At the recent convention of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, one of the speakers said: "The end of the war must necessarily bring the need of industrial readjustment, but before we ask women to cease the work they are now doing, let us abolish child labor." A newspaper editor declares: "The first war workers to be released should be children of school age, and once they are released, there should be an investigation to see how children of school age ever got into war work."

Interesting and significant is the demand made by the American delegates to the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference for the incorporation in the treaty of peace of an agreement providing that "No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under sixteen years of age have been employed or permitted to work." The same proposal was adopted by the Pan-American Federation of Labor. An international child labor law would, of course, be ineffective without adequate means of inspection and enforcement. The means, doubtless, could be provided through the establishment of a League of Nations. The sixteen-year age limit is one of the noteworthy features of the proposal of an international child labor law. Whatever may or may not be done at the peace conference about child labor, a minimum age limit of sixteen years for all the ordinary gainful occupations is desirable in federal and state legislation in this country.

The United States Boys' Working Reserve refuses to give federal recognition to boys under 16 who are employed on farms or in industry. At the Third National Conference of the Directors of the Reserve, held in Washington September 19-21, this age limit was emphatically re-affirmed as a vital part of the policy of the organization. Several notable addresses, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of true, American statesmanship in its relation to child conservation, were delivered. Mr. Felix Frankfurter, chairman of the War Labor Policies Board, said: "Utilizing child life, youth life, in this country, is at once the most imaginative,

the most delicate, and the most dangerous responsibility that any group of people can be confronted with. . . . There is essential a certain minimum period of education, and we have not yet reached that minimum in this country. There is essential not only the opportunity in time, but the opportunity in intelligence, the opportunity in resources for fruitful leisure, because as it was said by the wisest men of Greece of old, the test of a civilized community is opportunity for ample and fruitful leisure. That is particularly true of childhood." Dr. George D. Strayer concluded his address to the directors by saying that he understood it to be their ideal "that the hope of humanity is to be found in the education and in the conservation of the youth of America." The problems connected with the education and protection of childhood and youth are problems of statesmanship, and every citizen is, or ought to be, a statesman.

The decision of the people of Duval County in favor of the state compulsory education law, as expressed by an overwhelming majority at the polls on September 17, is a good DUVAL COUNTY sign of the trend of public opinion in Florida.

FLORIDA The new state education law, passed by the last legislature, provides for the compulsory school attendance, at least eighty days each year, of all children between the ages of 8 and 14 in those counties which ratify the law by referendum vote. It is hoped that the action of Duval County will be followed by equally enthusiastic ratification in other counties of the state, some of which are to vote on the measure in the near future.

Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia, on his "own account and at the request of the National Education Association and the Association of College Presidents," has introduced a FEDERAL AID bill "to create a Department of Education, to TO EDUCATION appropriate money for the conduct of said department, to appropriate money for Federal cooperation with the states in the encouragement and support of education, and for other purposes." For the support of the department \$500,000 annually is appropriated; for federal cooperation with the states, \$100,000,000. This sum is allocated to several different objects

or groups of objects. Among the objects to be promoted by the bill may be mentioned: The abolition of illiteracy; the Americanization of immigrants; equalization of educational opportunities (extending school terms, providing adequate supervision, and otherwise raising standards of school efficiency); promotion of physical education and recreation; promotion of medical and dental examination of school children; preparation of teachers for schools, especially rural schools; encouragement of the establishment of scholarships in elementary and secondary schools. The states, in order to secure the benefits of the proposed law, must make appropriations for corresponding purposes equal to the allotments available in the form of federal aid, and must conform to various other requirements. The bill has been referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. It deserves public support.

The Second Pan-American Congress on Child Welfare, to be held at Montevideo, Uruguay, has been postponed until May and it is hoped that the United States Government PAN-AMERICAN will now appoint and send official delegates. Here CONGRESS will be expressed a Pan-Americanism as truly significant and valuable as the Pan-Americanism of industry, commerce and politics. A common interest in social welfare, in child welfare, does exist and its development as a common interest should be fruitful of increasingly sympathetic and cordial relations among the peoples of our Western hemisphere. There are far-reaching suggestions in the idea of childhood as a universal bond among the nations of the earth.

The Fourteenth Annual Conference of the National Child Labor Committee will be held in New York City on Saturday, December 7. A program of vital discussions of vital subjects has been arranged. ANNUAL CONFERENCE DECEMBER 7, 1918, IN NEW YORK CITY The general subject will be, "A National Minimum in Child Protection." At the forenoon session, in the auditorium of the United Charities Building, Hon. P. P. Claxton and President Dwight B. Waldo of Western Normal College will discuss "Federal Aid to Elementary Education." At the afternoon session, at the same place, "Health" will be discussed by Dr. L. Emmett Holt, of the

Child Health Organization; Dr. Willard S. Small, Director of School Hygiene, U. S. Department of Education; Mrs. Florence Kelley, of the National Consumers' League; George A. Hall, Secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee; Miss Sally Lucas Jean, of the Child Health Organization; and Dr. Lydia A. De Vilbiss, of the Division of Child Hygiene, Kansas State Board of Health. The evening speakers, at a session to be held in the auditorium of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, will deal with the subject of "A New Federal Child Labor Law." Dr. Felix Adler will preside, and addresses will be given by Hon. Irvine L. Lenroot, U. S. Senator from Wisconsin; Dean Roscoe Pound, of the Harvard University Law School; and Miss Grace Abbott, of the Federal Children's Bureau.

Child Labor Day has now become an annual custom, and this year, with the advent of peace, and the beginning of reconstruction, it should be observed with greater enthusiasm than ever before. The dates designated for observance throughout the country are

CHILD LABOR DAY, Saturday, January 25, in synagogues; Sunday, January 26, in churches, and Monday, January 27, in schools, clubs, etc. An occasion will be afforded for reviewing the work and achievements of Children's Year, which have included, besides the baby-saving campaign, a crusade against war-time child labor and a nation-wide back-to-school drive. The Children's Bureau is arranging to have reports from its field workers available for the programs of churches, schools, clubs, and other organizations. The National Child Labor Committee will be glad to send its literature and cooperate in other ways in making Child Labor Day not only a time of profitable retrospection but of equally profitable forward-looking.

The Committee has received from the Secretary of the Interior a letter from which we quote: "Many agencies, both Governmental and private, have united in urging the people

LETTER FROM of the United States not to forget the interests
SECRETARY LANE of the children while engaged in the great war
which is now ending in victory for freedom and democracy. The Department of the Interior, with its Bureau of Education, and the Department of Labor, with its Children's

Bureau, have been especially active in making sentiment for the maintenance of the schools and the enforcement of school attendance and child labor laws, and the promotion of the health of children in school and in the home. Other Departments of the Government have given valuable assistance in many ways. Among non-Governmental agencies the National Child Labor Committee has done much valuable work to these ends. . . . Since the future of the country depends in very large degree on what we do now for the children, it is entirely fitting that now at the close of the war one day should be observed as Child Labor Day and that there should be both a backward look on what has been done and a forward look into the needs of the children in the future. This day should also result in high resolves that no child shall lack for the care and opportunity necessary for its full development and complete preparation for joyous living and effective service to society."

The National Child Labor Committee has just issued two comprehensive reports embodying the results of careful first-hand investigations of the conditions of child life in Alabama and North Carolina. The Alabama and North Carolina survey was conducted with the cooperation of the University of Alabama under the direction of Dr. E. N. Clopper of this Committee. The North Carolina investigation, directed by W. H. Swift, was undertaken at the request of the State Conference of Social Service as an introduction to further educational work in child welfare in North Carolina. The report recommends that the General Assembly of 1919 authorize the Governor to appoint an unpaid state commission to study intensively conditions and laws affecting children in North Carolina as a basis for legislative action.

The Child Health Organization, affiliated with the National Child Labor Committee is doing increasingly effective work. In addition to distributing literature on request to thousands of parents, teachers, physicians and social workers in every state of the union and in many foreign countries, it has taken part in the following important activities. In New York City this summer it conducted an all-day summer school for children suffering

from malnutrition. The school was attended by two hundred children, who were given two meals a day. The Child Health Organization has cooperated with the Civilian Department of the Red Cross in the supervision of the health of the children of soldiers and sailors. Through its well-managed publicity campaigns, it has helped create sufficient interest in the health of New York City school children to secure a city appropriation of \$50,000 for a Bureau of School Lunches within the Department of Education, and is to help in the organization of its work. In Rhode Island, at the request of the Governor, the Organization is conducting an investigation of health conditions among women and children. The Federal Government also has given recognition to the work by reprinting some of its literature and by appointing the director of the Child Health Organization specialist in child health education of the Federal Bureau of Education.

Members of the National Child Labor Committee will regret to learn of the sudden death on Sunday morning, November 17th, of Miss Hilda Wilkie, our Assistant Membership Secretary. Miss Wilkie had been on the staff of the committee since 1913—a devoted, earnest worker to whom we owe the awakening of interest in many now in our membership. A graduate of Vassar, she was particularly happy in her approach to college women, and at the time of her death was working out details for a general enlistment of college graduates in a work so fundamental to an educated democracy. Miss Wilkie was at her desk on Thursday morning hard at work, and on Sunday we were shocked to learn of her sudden death. A young woman of refinement, culture and earnest purpose, she devoted her life to the well-being of others with rare grace and modesty. We desire through these columns to extend to the stricken family that kind of sympathy best expressed in added devotion to the cause which so fully enlisted her affections and energies.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL CHILD
LABOR COMMITTEE

For the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1918

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, *General Secretary*

The Federal Child Labor Law still forms the greatest point of interest in the Fourteenth Fiscal Year. The Child Labor Division of the Children's Bureau was successful in enforcing the terms of the law, obtaining five convictions with penalties ranging from \$50 to \$160 between January and April, 1918. The act was in force in all parts of the country except the Western District of North Carolina, where Judge Boyd had rendered decision in the Dagenhart case that the act was unconstitutional.

This case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, the brief in support of the act being made by Mr. Solicitor-General Davis of the Department of Justice. On June 3 the Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the District Court by a five to four vote, Justices Holmes, McKenna, Brandeis and Clarke dissenting. The opinion of the Court held that the act was not a regulation of interstate commerce and that it contravened the tenth amendment of the constitution—in which reference is made to the reserved powers of the States. In other words, the Court regarded it as an unwarranted exercise of the commerce power and an invasion of States' Rights, because it regulated manufacture and not commerce.

On June 10 leave was asked by Mr. Davis to apply for a rehearing of the case, but the motion was later abandoned. The National Child Labor Committee immediately set to work to draft a new law which would stand the test of constitutionality. A measure based on the war power of Congress was drawn by a joint committee of the National Child Labor Committee, the National Consumers' League and the American Federation of Labor, and

introduced on August 15 in the House of Representatives by Congressman Keating of Colorado. It is known as H. R. 12767, and seeks to restore the standards of the first Federal Law by direct prohibition of child labor under the war power of Congress for the duration of the war and six months thereafter.

It is hoped by the passage of this temporary measure to give time for the careful consideration by experts of the method best calculated to meet the necessity for national regulation, both on the ground of constitutionality and on that of effectiveness in enforcement. On September 25 the Keating Bill was ordered reported out of committee by a vote of 5 to 3. Meanwhile progress has been made in drafting a permanent measure based on the taxing power of Congress.

RULING OF WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD

On July 12 the War Labor Policies Board agreed that the standards of the first Federal Law should be upheld by ruling that the following clause should be inserted in all government contracts: "The contractor shall not directly or indirectly employ in the performance of this contract any minor under the age of 14 years, or permit any minor between the ages of 14 and 16 years to work more than eight hours in any one day, more than six days in any one week, or before 6 a. m. or after 7 p. m." The enforcement of the ruling was placed in the hands of the Secretary of Labor. The American Cotton Manufacturers' Association lost no time in protesting the ruling on the ground that the Board is exceeding its powers of jurisdiction in arbitrarily fixing labor standards which Congress itself has been unable to do, and the manufacturers have declared that they will not sign contracts containing the objectionable clause.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

In accordance with the enlarged scope of the Committee's activity, it has co-operated with the National Education Association in the work of drawing a bill to provide federal aid to the states for education, providing for an annual appropriation of \$100,000,000 to be divided among the states for the purpose of co-operating with them in the instruction of illiterates, in the Americanization

of immigrants, in the standardizing and improvement of public schools, thus equalizing the opportunities for education, in the promotion of physical education and recreation, and in teacher training.

STATE LEGISLATION

The most important state legislation on child labor and kindred subjects may be briefly summarized as follows:

Child Labor Laws Amended: *Strengthened.*

- Maryland.....Age for canning and packing establishments raised from 12 to 14.
- New York.....Messenger law strengthened, girls under 21 prohibited in cities of first class.
- Virginia.....14-year limit applied to canneries and theatres; age for mines and quarries raised from 14 to 16; provisions relating to messengers, night work.
- Wisconsin.....Age limit for night newspaper selling raised from 16 to 17.

Child Labor Laws Amended: *Weakened.*

- New York.....Vacation permits to be issued to children between 14 and 16 for delivery and errand work, employment in offices and stores.
- Virginia.....Prohibition removed against employing children 14 to 16 during school hours or after 7 p. m. in the distribution, transmission or sale of merchandise.

Work Permits:

- Maryland.....Temporary permits to children over 14 mentally retarded.
- Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Wisconsin (Industrial Commission Ruling). Work Permit provisions strengthened.

Compulsory Education Laws:

- Mississippi.....New law, school attendance compulsory, subject to local option, between ages of 7 and 14 at least 60 days in year.
- Virginia.....Law made statewide, required attendance raised from 12 to 16 weeks.

Continuation School Laws:

- New York.....New law requiring illiterate minors 16-21 to attend day or evening school maintained by employer, unless excused by Commissioner of Health for mental or physical unfitness.
- Wisconsin.....Age raised—now applies to minors 14-17.

Closely related to these legislative activities should be mentioned the amendment to the Mothers' Pension Law in Michigan and the new laws in Vermont and Virginia.

HEALTH

A special effort was made to arouse interest in the matter of child health in those states which had legislative sessions this year particularly in Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, North Carolina and Rhode Island. A study was made of any existing laws and their administration designed to safeguard the health of children, particularly in relation to physical standards required as a pre-requisite for the issuance of employment certificates, and the systematic examination of employed children between 14 and 16 years of age.

The Secretary's assistant and several of our special agents were assigned to this work. The result of these studies showed that no effective agencies exist and that while several states require certain physical standards before work permits are issued, no state systematically inquires into the physical condition of employed children, while the health examinations of school children are in most instances superficial and incomplete. Amendments were introduced in the above named states, and in Rhode Island the bill passed the lower house, was strongly endorsed by the Governor but was finally lost in the Senate,

These efforts of the Committee indicate both the serious need of laws to appraise and protect the health of children and the widespread apathy on the subject. A general awakening is apparent, however, due largely to revelations of general health conditions in connection with the country's military activities. The most concrete form of this public interest developed during the year in the formation of the National Child Health Organization.

In the spring of 1918 a group of physicians at the New York Academy of Medicine invited Dr. Lindsay, Dr. McKelway and your Secretary to advise them as to the possibility of a national organization to promote the health of school children. As a result of a number of conferences this group of interested citizens asked the National Child Labor Committee to effect an affiliation of interest and thus avoid the expense of a wholly new office force, equipment and machinery. Accordingly the National Child Health Organization was formed with the following officers and directors: Dr. L. Emmett Holt, Chairman; V. Everit Macy, Treasurer; Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary, Miss Sally Lucas Jean, Director of Field Work, Dr. Samuel M. Hamill, Mrs. John Collier, Dr. Godfrey R. Pisek, Dr. Victor G. Heiser, Mrs. Frederick Peterson, Dr. Bernard Sachs, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, Dr. Thomas D. Wood. Since May, 1918, the organization has been actively engaged in propaganda particularly for the physical examination and the teaching of proper nutrition for school children. The organization is doing excellent work as a center for information and advice, and recently at the request of the Secretary of the Interior Miss Jean has been appointed assistant to Dr. Small in the United States Bureau of Education to carry on a national campaign in the interest of this work.

INVESTIGATION

Michigan. The Michigan Child Welfare Commission appointed by the governor under authority of the legislature invited us to make a study of child labor and administration, especially with regard to street trading in cities, the relief of dependent children, juvenile courts, the care of children in institutions, and the correlation of child welfare laws. All this has been done and reports made to the Commission.

North Carolina. In North Carolina upon invitation of the State

Conference on Social Service we have inquired into child labor, especially those fields not covered by the state law and which at the time of the study were not covered by the Federal Child Labor Law, and also the conditions in agriculture and the attendance of children at rural schools, the dependency and delinquency of children, and the care of children in institutions. We have also made a study of the co-ordination of laws and recommendations for needed legislation. Reports on these subjects have been prepared.

Alabama. Last March a study of conditions in Alabama was made possible by the generosity of a friend of children who contributed \$6,325 for the purpose. The study was made under the auspices and with the co-operation of the University of Alabama, several of the professors taking part. The subjects of education, child-caring, child labor, recreation, public health, juvenile dependency and delinquency, and co-ordination of laws and administrative agencies were covered. These reports form chapters in a volume which has just been issued.

An invitation was received from Tennessee to make a study of conditions in that state, but owing to the pressure of other work it has not yet been possible to undertake it.

Mr. Swift has been giving special attention to the administration and co-ordination of child welfare laws and during the past year has received a number of invitations to advise state officials and state commissions in these matters. In April he made a trip to St. Louis to help the Missouri Child Welfare Commission formulate bills for its legislative program.

PUBLICITY

The work of the Publicity Department during the past year has included a continuance of the effort to secure attention from and through newspapers and magazines to the objects which the Committee seeks to promote. The news stories and editorial articles prepared and sent out by the department numbered 146. Considerable success was obtained in securing publicity through well-known magazines appealing to the general reader, as well as through standard periodicals devoted to special fields. The response from newspapers has been good.

In the early part of the year an extensive publicity campaign was conducted in connection with Child Labor Day and by means

of its various phases of the problem were presented to a large number of people. Announcements were sent out through newspapers and magazines and we have evidence that the day was observed in a large number of churches and educational institutions. The co-operation of libraries, schools and colleges was secured in the distribution of literature appropriate to the occasion. In response to direct requests for material 26,215 pamphlets were distributed. The subject of new federal legislation has received the special attention of the department since last June, when the child labor act of 1916 was declared unconstitutional.

Four issues of the CHILD LABOR BULLETIN were published, also seven leaflets and twenty-four pamphlets, including revised editions and reprints of Bulletin articles. In addition, there were several publications of varied character, the most notable among these—as well as among all the publications of the year—being the volume on “Child Welfare in Oklahoma,” the report of an inquiry conducted by the Committee, for the University of Oklahoma. The volume contains 285 pages, and a first edition of 1,500 copies has been printed. The total number of pages in all publications of the Committee during the year was 4,004,000.

Considerable revisory work, particularly in connection with Committee publications referring to child labor and education laws in the different states, has been carried on by the Publicity Department, which has also given time to developing the reference library of books, pamphlets, clippings and other material on child labor and cognate subjects.

There have been changes in the personnel of the department staff. In January Miss Ruth McIntire became assistant to the publicity director in place of Mrs. H. H. Fisher, resigned. The resignation of Miss Florence I. Taylor as director took effect August 1. She was succeeded later in the month by Raymond G. Fuller, formerly chief editorial writer of the Philadelphia Telegraph.

In the spring of 1918 the secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association War Camp Community Work called upon us for slides illustrating child labor to be used in army camp meetings. In response to this request we prepared seven sets of slides which were given to the Young Men's Christian Association for this purpose.

The material distributed during the year, not including the special Child Labor Day material, shows 87,137 pamphlets sent out

in bulk for exhibits and lectures, and 12,826 separate pamphlets sent in response to individual requests.

MEMBERSHIP

The increase in membership during the Fourteenth Fiscal Year has been gratifying. The net increase in the number of members over the Thirteenth Year is 1,376 giving a total on September 30, 1918, of 11,500 members. Of this number 8,143 were renewals of former memberships constituting 80.4 per cent. of the Committee's former members.

In addition to these renewals 3,357 new members and contributors enrolled during the year, contributing \$16,679.80.

The delinquent members were addressed four times during the year, and three special letters were sent to special small lists. Altogether seven letters, costing \$910.62 were mailed. Results: 1,653 renewed memberships, and \$7,990.10.

The comparison of memberships with the record for the Thirteenth Year is as follows:

	FOURTEENTH YEAR		THIRTEENTH YEAR	
Renewing Donors.....	84	\$16,526.00	71	\$15,689.05
New Donors.....	17	3,000.00	15	2,175.00
	101	\$19,526.00	86	\$17,864.05
Renewing Sust. Mem...	510	\$14,563.13	541	\$14,786.00
New Sust. Mem.....	129	3,577.00	51	1,679.91
	639	\$18,140.13	592	\$16,465.91
Renewing Cont. Mem...	3,247	\$21,060.90	3,112	\$19,892.08
New Cont. Mem.....	1,139	6,397.94	406	2,355.43
	4,386	\$27,458.84	3,518	\$22,247.51
Renewing Asso. Mem...	3,928	\$8,166.53	3,922	\$8,353.90
New Asso. Mem.....	1,896	3,489.63	1,463	3,003.37
	5,824	\$11,656.16	5,385	\$11,357.27
Renewing Contributors.	373	\$405.91	422	\$414.35
New Contributors.....	177	215.26	121	759.01
	550	\$621.17	543	\$1,173.36
Total.....	11,500	\$77,402.30	10,124	\$69,108.10

The Membership Secretary and her assistants have been especially successful in securing these new members by following throughout the year our policy of developing membership campaigns in various cities. In connection with these local campaigns our exhibit material has been of great value and is being at present almost exclusively devoted to this purpose. Campaigns were held in Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Lima, Toledo, Dayton and Springfield, Ohio; Richmond, Va., Burlington, Vt., and Springfield, Mass.

A detailed analysis of the results of these town campaigns and special meetings will be of interest to those who generously assisted in their success and suggestive to the many friends of our Committee who desire to know in what way they can help extend our work:

Columbus, Ohio, October, 1917. Under the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. F. Campbell.

Paid subscriptions.....	118		\$438.80	
Unpaid pledges.....	11		22.00	
		129		\$460.80

Cleveland, Ohio, November, 1917. Under the leadership of the Junior League, Mrs. Allen House, President, Miss Josephine Custis, Secretary.

Paid subscriptions.....	608		\$3,353.71	
Unpaid pledges.....	23		58.00	
		631		3,411.71

Lima, Ohio, February, 1918. Under the leadership of the Allen County Child Welfare League, Dr. Josephine L. Peirce, President.

Paid subscriptions.....	56		\$127.45	
Unpaid pledges.....	11		21.00	
		67		148.45

Springfield, Ohio, March, 1918. Under the leadership of the Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. John MacKee, and Mrs. Augusta Miller, Chairmen of Exhibit.

Paid subscriptions.....	53		\$381.15	
Unpaid pledges.....	11		26.00	
		64		407.15

Toledo, Ohio, March, 1918.

Paid subscriptions.....	26		\$139.37	
Unpaid pledges.....	21		44.00	
		47		183.37

Cincinnati, Ohio, April, 1918. Under the leadership of Mrs. Homer D. Broyles, Secretary of the Juvenile Protective League; and Mrs. Henry Englander, Chairman of our Membership Committee.

Paid subscriptions.....	610		\$3,580.38	
Unpaid pledges.....	30		50.00	
		640		3,583.38

Richmond, Virginia, May, 1918. Under the leadership of the Federated Mothers' Clubs, Mrs. William A. Burrows, Chairman of Exhibit.

Paid subscriptions.....	72		\$383.71	
Unpaid pledges.....	18		65.00	
		90		448.71

Dayton, Ohio, May, 1918. Campaign arranged and carried through by the Federated Women's Clubs under the leadership of Mrs. Charles Kumler.

Paid subscriptions.....	77		\$544.25	
		77		544.25

Burlington, Vermont, July, 1918. Under the leadership of the Woman's Club, Mrs. George Groat, Chairman.

Paid subscriptions.....	52		\$173.50	
Unpaid pledges.....	15		33.00	
		67		206.50

Springfield, Mass., September, 1918.

Paid subscriptions.....	31		\$179.54	
Unpaid pledges.....	10		44.00	
		41		223.54

Total for campaigns	1,853		\$9,617.86	
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Special Meetings:

Scarsdale, N. Y., February, 1918, arranged for by Mrs. Francis B. Thurber.

Subscriptions through meeting.....			\$54.00	
Subscriptions through follow letter..	25		73.00	
		25		\$127.00

At Mr. Adolph Lewisohn's home, February, 1918.

Paid subscriptions.....	85		\$390.00	
Unpaid pledges.....	12		30.00	
		97		420.00

At Little Lenox Theatre, March, 1918.
Mrs. George D. Pratt, Chairman of
Hostess Committee. Students of the
Florence Fleming Noyes School of Rhyth-
mic Expression, led by Miss Margaret L.
Chamberlaine, presented under the direc-
tion of Miss Grace M. Lichten, the
Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow pre-
pared by Constance D'Arcy Mackay.

Paid subscriptions.....	59	\$1,892.00	
	<hr/>		
	59	<hr/>	\$1,892.00

At Hotel Plaza, New York, May, 1918.
Mrs. Sidney Borg, Chairman of Hostess
Committee. Students of the Florence
Fleming Noyes School of Rhythmic Ex-
pression, led by Miss Margaret L. Cham-
berlaine, presented under the direction of
Miss Grace M. Lichten, the Pageant of
Sunshine and Shadow.

Paid subscriptions.....	76	\$2,814.00	
Unpaid pledges.....	8	185.00	
	<hr/>		
	84	<hr/>	2,999.00

At Mr. Leo Arnstein's Estate, Dobbs
Ferry, July, 1918. The Children of the
Day Camp, with Miss Margaret L. Cham-
berlaine, presented the Pageant of Sun-
shine and Shadow under the direction of
Miss Jessie Trube.

Paid subscriptions.....	60	\$696.12	
Unpaid pledges.....	4	35.00	
	<hr/>		
	64	<hr/>	731.12

At Lake Placid Club, August, 1918, Mrs.
Henry J. Davison and Mrs. William
Freer directed the production of the
Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow.

General Collection.....			218.02
	<hr/>		
Total for Meetings.....	329	<hr/>	\$6,387.14

Tables at three hotels, for a total period
of three weeks and two days, in charge of
volunteers, Mrs. Carl Seeman, Chairman,
brought these results:

Hotel Astor, May, 1918:

Paid subscriptions.....	29	\$133.00	
Anonymous gifts.....	...	77.00	
	<hr/>		
	29	<hr/>	\$210.00

Fourteenth Annual Report

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Hotel Claridge, May 1918:

Paid subscriptions.....	5		\$11.00	
Unpaid pledges.....	1		2.00	
		6		\$13.00

Ritz Carlton Hotel, May, 1918:

Paid subscriptions.....	229		\$540.00	
Unpaid pledges.....	10		10.00	
Anonymous gifts.....	...		501.00	
		239		1,051.00

Total for Hotel Tables.....	274		\$1,274.00	
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Our large exhibit shown for one week in a vacant store at 583 Fifth Avenue, New York, and later at 38 East 48th Street, with a group of volunteer hostesses, Miss Grace M. Lichten, Chairman, brought thousands of signatures to a petition and letters to the Legislature protesting against retrogressive legislation pending in Albany, also

Paid subscriptions.....	110		\$605.55	
Unpaid pledges.....	4		14.00	
		114		\$619.55

Our suitcase exhibit shown in Englewood, N. J., in December, under the care of Mrs. Pierre Jay Wurts brought in subscriptions amounting to \$44.00.....

44.00

A suitcase exhibit shown in Delaware, Ohio, in July, in charge of Miss Carrie Barge, brought 17 new members and \$39.00.....

17

39.00

A suitcase exhibit shown at Radcliffe College in January in connection with a membership campaign conducted by Miss Natalie Colfelt brought 34 new members and \$103.25.....

34

103.25

Record of special appreciation is hereby made of the help of the active friends listed above; and of the many others who assisted in making the campaigns and meetings successful; and especially to Miss Grace M. Lichten for her untiring and efficient service as Chairman of our New York Committee of Volunteers.

FINANCES

In view of the many demands for funds the Treasurer's Report for the year is especially encouraging. The summarized financial report for the Fourteenth Year is as follows:

Cash on deposit, October 1, 1917.....	\$11,358.52
Total receipts.....	92,275.66
Total expenditures.....	83,965.77

Cash on deposit, September 30, 1918.....	\$8,309.89
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From this must be deducted \$7,432.51 reserve fund to meet accounts incurred during the year, including \$5,420.25 for undelivered subscriptions to the CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, leaving a net balance of \$877.38.

Following is the Treasurer's Annual Report, certified by Haskins & Sells, Certified Public Accountants, New York:

TREASURER'S REPORT

For the Year Ending September 30, 1918

Debits

CASH ON DEPOSIT, OCTOBER 1, 1917.....	\$11,358.52
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RECEIPTS:

Subscriptions.....	\$78,476.57
Sales of Publications.....	835.84
Sales of Photographs and Slides.....	53.30
Rental of Slides and Exhibits.....	62.90
Interest on Bank Balances.....	120.98
Pageant.....	85.57

Refunds:

Clerical Salaries.....	\$115.12
Investigations.....	5.03
Exhibits.....	53.35
Postage.....	40.29
Traveling.....	4.92
Telephone and Telegraph.....	50.22
Purchase Child Labor Material.....	3.00
General Expenses.....	1.05
Alabama Welfare Work.....	1,009.00
(\$9 refund on salary)	1,281.98

80,917.14

Total Debits.....	\$92,275.66
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EXPENSES:	Credits	
Administrative Salaries.....	\$9,570.00	
Clerical Salaries.....	12,587.44	
Investigations.....	20,368.88	
Drafting and Supporting Legislation.....	5,657.48	
Publicity.....	5,206.60	
Exhibits.....	1,599.25	
Printing.....	6,988.34	
Postage.....	3,749.18	
Traveling.....	5,275.13	
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	1,334.86	
Telephone and Telegraph.....	740.89	
Purchase Child Labor Material.....	300.05	
Advertising.....	30.00	
Rent.....	2,205.00	
Miscellaneous General Expenses.....	751.77	
Alabama Child Labor Committee.....	200.00	
Alabama Welfare Work.....	5,045.41	
		<u>\$81,610.28</u>
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....		239.20
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE, SEPTEMBER 30, 1917.....		959.29
REFUND SUBSCRIPTIONS.....		<u>1,157.00</u>
Total Credits.....		<u>\$83,965.77</u>
CASH ON HAND, SEPTEMBER 30, 1918.....		<u><u>\$8,309.89</u></u>

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

For the Year Ended September 30, 1918

INCOME:	
Subscriptions:	
Collected During the Year.....	\$77,319.57
Collected but Unearned at Beginning of the Year.....	5,087.00
Total.....	<u>\$82,406.57</u>
Less Collected but Unearned at End of the Year.....	5,420.25
Earned During the Year.....	<u>\$76,986.32</u>
Sales of Publications.....	835.84
Sales of Photographs and Slides.....	53.30
Rental of Slides and Exhibits.....	62.90
Pageant.....	85.57
Interest on Bank Balances.....	<u>120.98</u>
Total.....	<u><u>\$78,144.91</u></u>

EXPENSES:

Administrative Salaries.....	\$9,570.00	
Clerical Salaries.....	12,510.12	
Investigations.....	20,623.01	
Drafting and Supporting Legislation.....	5,657.48	
Publicity.....	5,243.80	
Exhibits.....	1,693.34	
Printing.....	8,162.34	
Postage.....	3,773.07	
Rent.....	2,205.00	
Traveling.....	5,270.21	
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	1,371.61	
Telephone and Telegraph.....	739.57	
Purchase of Materials Relating to Child Labor.....	310.45	
Advertising.....	30.00	
Alabama Child Labor Committee.....	200.00	
Alabama Welfare Work.....	\$5,189.36	
Less Received on Account.....	1,000.00	
	<hr/>	4,189.36
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures.....	98.70	
Miscellaneous General Expenses.....	791.20	
	<hr/>	
Total.....		82,439.26
DEFICIT FOR THE YEAR.....		\$4,294.35
SURPLUS, OCTOBER 1, 1917.....		6,172.68
		<hr/>
SURPLUS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1918.....		\$1,878.33
		<hr/> <hr/>

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET

September 30, 1918

Assets

FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	\$987.05
EXHIBIT PARAPHERNALIA.....	150.00
CASH ON DEPOSIT.....	8,309.89
TOTAL.....	<hr/> \$9,446.94 <hr/> <hr/>

Liabilities

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE.....	\$2,012.26
UNEARNED PORTION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS COLLECTED.....	5,420.25
RESERVE FOR DEPRECIATION OF FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	136.10
SURPLUS.....	1,878.33
TOTAL.....	<hr/> \$9,446.94 <hr/> <hr/>

OFFICIAL MEETINGS

No public annual conference was held during the fiscal year. On account of the pressure of work and the increased cost of travel, it was deemed advisable to postpone a national conference until a later date. It was also anticipated that at this later date specific plans for legislative campaigns could be urged and that a final decision regarding the constitutionality of the Federal Child Labor Law would open the way to a definite program for further action.

The Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee Corporation was held at the residence of Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, 881 Fifth Avenue, New York City, on October 31, 1917.

The following Trustees were elected for a term of five years to succeed themselves: Howell Cheney, Charles P. Neill, Lillian D. Wald; and the following new members added: Jacob G. Schmidlapp, Mrs. Beverley B. Munford, William Draper Lewis, John Dewey, Dr. L. Emmett Holt.

Six meetings of the Board have been held during the year: October 3, 1917, October 31, 1917, December 26, 1917, February 13, 1918, March 20, 1918, May 14, 1918.

ADDRESSES AND CONFERENCES

The Committee has been represented in public addresses this year principally by the Secretary and the Membership Department, although other members of the staff have spoken when available. It should be added that most of these addresses have been made without expense to the Committee. The addresses by the Membership Department have been made in connection with local membership campaigns, and as heretofore, the Secretary has pursued the policy of charging local organizations for traveling expenses, so that this year he has been able to travel 26,654 miles and deliver 178 addresses without any burden to our treasury. Following is the summary of addresses:

Addresses

State	Mr. Lovejoy	Mr. Clopper	Miss Eschen- brenner	Other Staff Members	Total
Alabama.....	1	1	..	..	2
Connecticut.....	..	..	..	1	1
Delaware.....	2	..	..	1	3
D. of C.....	1	..	1	1	3
Florida.....	5	..	..	..	5
Georgia.....	1	..	..	..	1
Illinois.....	18	..	..	..	18
Indiana.....	2	..	..	..	2
Iowa.....	6	..	..	..	6
Kentucky.....	1	..	..	..	1
Maryland.....	8	..	..	..	8
Massachusetts.....	..	1	..	1	2
Michigan.....	2	..	..	9	11
Missouri.....	..	..	..	1	1
Nebraska.....	2	..	..	..	2
New Jersey.....	3	1	..	1	5
New York.....	44	3	22	3	72
North Carolina.....	15	..	..	22	37
Ohio.....	6	..	27	36	69
Pennsylvania.....	42	1	6	1	50
South Carolina.....	2	..	..	1	5
Vermont.....	..	..	..	1	1
Virginia.....	13	..	1	5	19
West Virginia.....	4	..	..	..	4
Total.....	178	7	57	84	326

The conferences at which the Committee was represented are shown as follows:

State	Number
Alabama.....	1
District of Columbia.....	6
Illinois.....	1
Indiana.....	1
Michigan.....	1
Missouri.....	1
Nebraska.....	1
New Jersey.....	1
New York.....	10
North Carolina.....	4
Pennsylvania.....	1
South Carolina.....	1

TRAVEL

The record of miles travelled by members of the staff is as follows:

	Miles
Owen R. Lovejoy.....	26,654
A. J. McKelway.....	4,278
Edward N. Clopper.....	20,136
Josephine J. Eschenbrenner.....	6,026
Wiley H. Swift.....	14,354
Charles E. Gibbons.....	14,424
Mabel B. Ellis.....	9,074
Hilda C. Wilkie.....	5,658

In looking forward to the work of the coming year the Secretary desires to express the sense of loss felt by the entire staff in the breaking of our ranks by the death of Dr. Alexander J. McKelway on April 16, 1918. From the beginning of the work of the Committee Dr. McKelway was a prominent figure in its activities and for the past eight years was in charge of our work in the Washington office. Our appreciation of his faithful and efficient service was expressed in our CHILD LABOR BULLETIN for May, 1918, and no word of our praise can add to the high estimate of his value to those forces working in our country for the protection of childhood. But we cannot close this report without taking occasion to appeal to our entire membership that we shall promote with even greater vigor than heretofore the progress of that great cause to which his able life was consecrated. On behalf of the Trustees and staff we renew our pledge to the entire membership and to all friends of working children that with their co-operation we shall continue the educational work we have undertaken until neglected and over-worked childhood throughout the country has obtained those securities which should rightly characterize an enlightened civilization.

Respectfully submitted,

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary.

AMERICAN CHILDREN AND THE WAR

RUTH MCINTIRE

Publicity Department, National Child Labor Committee

How is the war affecting children in America? This is a question that is engaging the attention of child welfare workers in every field throughout the country and is, at the same time, most difficult to determine. The cessation of hostilities will not essentially alter the situation for many months to come. During the last year unauthenticated rumors of sensational leaps in juvenile delinquency and in child employment both legal and illegal have been received in increasing numbers. But when within one month such apparently conflicting statements are made as that "Juvenile delinquency has so increased in Massachusetts during the last year that all the boys' correctional institutions are badly overcrowded, the increase in the number of inmates being 47 per cent," and on the other hand that "Juvenile delinquency has decreased in Boston during the war," one feels very uncertain in accepting conclusions drawn from newspaper reports.

It was to discover just what conditions do prevail in various chosen and probably representative parts of the country that the National Child Labor Committee planned to conduct short surveys in different states during the autumn of 1918, including Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and possibly Arkansas and Maine.

Two out of the three surveys so far undertaken in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New Jersey are not yet complete, but as the findings up to date are official and recent, a brief summary will be of value at the present time. The remaining states will be reported on in these pages as the studies are completed.

The topics investigated were: *Education*, covering the following points—decrease in enrollment, grades affected, reasons, districts affected, effect on teaching staff, changes in curriculum, continuation

schools, and truancy; *Labor*, including increase in work permits, grades of children, kinds of work, illegal employment, effect on enforcing staff, increase in married women employed, enforcement of law, unemployment of adult labor, etc.; *Health*, evidence of malnutrition and preventive measures, infant mortality; *Dependency and Delinquency*, the effect on state institutions, increase in juvenile delinquency, mothers' pensions, day nurseries, clubs and recreation centers. In the states, counties and cities visited, officials, organizations and agencies were questioned, and whenever possible a certain amount of personal investigation was done.

PENNSYLVANIA

In Pennsylvania, 11 cities were visited and reports obtained on the school situation in 8 counties. In all these, in varying degree, the schools and the child labor problem have been affected, apparently as a direct result of war conditions. In Philadelphia the School of Pedagogy was closed for lack of applicants, and 70 public school classes were without teachers when school opened. The majority of the staff of attendance officers left last year, either on account of the draft or for better positions. More than half the staff are at present inexperienced. In the Bureau of Compulsory Attendance four clerkships are vacant, and there is but one physician instead of the usual three. When school opened in September about 2,000 vacation permits had not been returned. During the month 3,580 children obtained work permits, 3,222 of whom left school entirely. The increase in illegal employment was marked, especially in street-trades, where boys 10, 11, and 12 years old were employed, regardless of the law. There was also found a great deal of homework for cigar and clothing factories.

The same street-trade situation was found in most of the Pennsylvania cities visited, notably in Allentown, Wilkes-Barre, York, Scranton, and Lancaster. Illegal employment also took the form in Bethlehem of night work for boys under 16 years in the steel mills; in Wilkes-Barre, of work in the coal breakers by boys of 12, 13, and 14, while in Lancaster, and in lesser degree York, home work was found to be the greatest evil. In Lancaster, "every morning" says the report, "little children pulling carts can be seen standing near the tobacco warehouses, waiting for the tobacco which they

take home to be stripped. The usual rates which they receive are 1 cent a pound, although one factory gives 2 cents a pound. Entire families work at stripping tobacco and the most they earn at more or less steady work is from \$3 to \$4 a week. Little children work at this occupation. It is not permitted to dampen the tobacco and mothers claim that the dust is so thick that it often becomes impossible to work. Another phase of home work is umbrella tipping, and this work pays a family of four working quite steadily throughout the week about \$6 or \$7. Another home occupation is "vest topping" at which children can work quite easily.

In addition to illegal employment, there is a large increase in legal employment, measured by the numbers of children taking out work permits this year. In Allentown, which is Pennsylvania Dutch, and where legal employment is always at a maximum, there was necessarily no marked change in this respect.

The records of school attendance confirm the evidence on this matter. In Lehigh County, school enrollment was 50 per cent of the normal this year, the lower grades as well as the upper being depleted. Seventy-five men teachers left for other work or were drafted for the Army, and 10 schools had already closed for lack of teachers. The superintendent expected to be obliged to close other schools having a shortage in the teaching staff. Last year there were only 5 continuation schools; this year there are but 3 open in the county. It is claimed that not enough children could be got together to warrant opening the others. Lackawanna County also reports only one-half the normal enrollment, while several rural schools have not reopened. Among the cities, Lancaster, Scranton, and Allentown show more or less falling off in school attendance, especially in the upper grades, while in Bethlehem no definite information could be obtained, the reason for this being, in the words of the superintendent of schools, "Chaos—I can give no facts." In this city of 30,000 souls however, the fact that the school enrollment is only 6,086 is sufficiently instructive.

As to delinquency, the reports are less unanimous. In the vicinity of Army camps the problem of the delinquent girl is always to the fore; this problem is being handled by federal authorities. York, Scranton, Lancaster, and Wilkes-Barre all report an increase in the number of children brought before the courts, which in Lancaster reaches, according to the Associated Charities, 100 per cent over the

normal. With boys malicious mischief and petty larceny seem to be the leading offenses.

The number of married women employed appears to have generally increased. This directly affects the welfare of the youngest children, who in a few cases are taken care of by day nurseries, in some by the older children who remain at home for the purpose. There was everywhere noted a crying need for more, and more adequate, day nurseries. Club work and recreation for older boys and girls does not appear to have been materially influenced. The epidemic in the early fall put a stop to many of these activities, but they were to be resumed later. In Scranton the work of the clubs has changed from an educational to a recreational character, to suit the needs of young people who are employed during the day. In Lancaster the Y. W. C. A. has not been able to reach many of the working girls, and but a few of the younger girls, while the attendance of the Y. M. C. A. has fallen off because of the loss of men who are in the service. The work was progressing as usual in other cities. In some cities attendance at recreation centers has even increased.

In the matter of health there is little definite information. There was no evidence of an increase in malnutrition as yet, though the shortage of day nurseries and the absence of mothers from home indicate that conditions may be expected to show a change for the worse. The school nurse in Allentown even claims that health is generally improved, and that parents prefer to take care of the child's teeth, adenoids, and tonsils before he reaches the age of 14, rather than lose time in remedying matters after he is able to work.

CONNECTICUT

A unique situation arose in Connecticut from the fact that the springing up of munitions factories in 1914 brought about war conditions in the large cities earlier than other localities. The situation stands out very clearly in the work permit records. The total number of permits issued in the 5 cities of Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, New Britain, and Waterbury rose from 3,310 in 1913-14, to 4,012 in 1914-15. The following year they numbered 7,779, decreased slightly the next year, and in 1917-18 totaled 8,577. Moreover 14-year old boys are permitted by the State Board to work 60 hours and one night a week. In addition to the amazing

growth in the numbers of children employed, the employment of married women has greatly increased. Out of 164 women doing night work in munition factories interviewed by the State Consumers' League, 110 were married and most had large families of children. Eighty-two gave as their reason for engaging in night work the fact that they could care for the children and do housework in the day time. Many children of working mothers are badly neglected. The Charity Organization Society receives complaints from mothers that their 7 and 8-year-old boys are unmanageable and learns that they are frequently out on the street all day and late at night. In New Haven the Red Cross is active in getting back to school the children who have fathers and brothers in the Army.

The school situation is about the same as in other states. In New Haven, for instance, 15 per cent of the men teachers were lost on account of the war and the new draft will take more. All the positions have been filled. The attendance in high school and the grades shows no marked falling off, but the night schools have lost 25 per cent of their pupils. Half the boys in high school are said to work out of school hours, and the atmosphere of study has given place to restlessness, irregular attendance, and a desire on the part of most to be doing military service. In Hartford from 1,500 to 1,800 children were excused from school attendance until September 18 at the request of the State Council of National Defense in order to save the tobacco crop. In Hartford the number of juvenile court cases increased from 415 in 1915-16, to 653 in 1916-17, and 737 in 1917-18.

In reply to a questionnaire with regard to juvenile delinquency and immorality among young people sent out by the State Council of National Defence, the opinion of the juvenile probation officer in Hartford was that : (1) There has been an increase in delinquency during the last year. (2) The great bulk of offenses are by boys and against peace, property, and person. (3) The offenses against morals by girls nearly doubled from 1916 to 1917. (4) It is hard to determine the influence of war, but it is safe in saying that the increase is out of all proportion to the increase in population. Many cases occurred in families that have recently moved to Hartford, and especially among the newly arrived plantation negroes who are increasing the cases of truancy because they are not accustomed to compulsory school laws nor to a long school year. It is said that the absence of older brothers from home may be a very direct cause.

A serious problem in Connecticut is the need for adequate care for the young children of working mothers. In Hartford the capacity of one day nursery has been increased from 50 to 100, largely in order to care for the children of mothers employed in the places of men entering the federal service. Formerly the nursery refused to accommodate children whose fathers were able-bodied, employed, or able to work. Now it will receive them if both parents are working in munitions. Twenty out of 80 families now sending children are of this sort. It will also take children if the parents have just passed through a period of poverty and need time to catch up, with both working. Six months' residence in the city used to be insisted on; this condition is now waived if the family came in order to work in munitions.

The Bridgeport Department of Health lost 8 out of 15 nurses, and their places have been filled by inexperienced women. It is planned to conduct each year physical examinations of school children in the first, third and sixth grades, but as the school population, while remaining numerically stationary, is constantly shifting and changing as far as individuals are concerned, it is questioned how effective such examination will prove to be.

NEW JERSEY

In Hoboken and Jersey City the problem of delinquency among girls has become most serious. There has been a large increase, due chiefly to the fact that the cities have been used as ports of embarkation. Reports of a large increase in delinquency among the boys of Hoboken are denied by the juvenile court officials, but in Jersey City the number of children coming before the court has increased from 1,284 in 1916 to 1,761 in 1917, and in six months of 1918 the total has already reached 1,076. Two investigators think that this increase was not due to the war, but one probation officer believes that war conditions are responsible. In Essex County there has been a slight increase in the number of cases coming before the court, and the County Parental School notes an increase in the number of boys committed; the school provides 31 beds, and there were in September 53 commitments. As in Connecticut, the Red Cross is taking over the care of soldiers' families and trying to enable the mothers to stay at home.

Work permits issued in Jersey City have shown a tremendous increase. Though figures are as yet not available, the chief attendance officer thinks it safe to say that as many were issued from July to October as in the entire year preceding. Boys are making big money in munitions and in the shipyards, and after-school employment has also increased. School enrollment has shown a corresponding falling off. Twelve men teachers have been replaced by women.

Such, in brief, are the conditions recently found in three typical eastern states. They serve to confirm the general reports that come from all over the country of increase in employment, legal and illegal, marked falling-off of school attendance, and occasional increase in juvenile delinquency. Mothers are going into industry in increasing numbers, while as yet child-caring agencies and day nurseries have proved insufficient to meet the problem, even though their efforts have not slackened over previous years. So far, health does not appear to have been affected, but it is only necessary to review in imagination some of the common and unavoidable results of child labor, of neglect in infancy, and of night employment for women, to judge what will be the probable result.

At the date of writing the United States appears to be on the eve of peace. If peace does come, we have been told that any slackening in the conservation of food and other essentials will result in untold suffering—that the period of demobilization will increase for a time, rather than eliminate such problems. The same holds true of the labor and health problems. We must increase rather than diminish our efforts to conserve the youth of all the races. Those who have gone into industry to give expression to restlessness, to earn high wages, or for other reasons, must in some way receive the message that high wages for unskilled work at present means low wages for blind-alley jobs in the future. When the men who are now in Europe return to normal occupations. They must in some way be returned to the schools—to the regular grades, or to continuation schools, according to their ages and their standing. To allow them to compete with adults after the war means disaster for both. We stand nationally for the free opportunity for economic development; we cannot rightly stand for this freedom without giving our own citizens the right for full economic development, through equal opportunity for education and a healthful start in life.

WAR-TIME CHILD LABOR IN BOSTON*

LUCILE EAVES

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The records of the Boston Certification Office, which is in charge of the Superintendent of Schools, supply data for a statistical study of tendencies which probably exist in equal force, though less easily measured, in many industrial centers of the United States. The Massachusetts laws permit no employment of children under 14 years of age, and require that illiterates shall attend day schools until 16 and evening schools until 21. Before escaping school and going to work a child between 14 and 16 must produce legal evidence of age, a school record, a medical certificate, and a pledge from his prospective employer promising that the various legal restrictions on the employment of minors will be observed. War-time pressure has brought no relaxation of these regulations, but the number of young persons availing themselves of the liberal margin of education beyond these minimum requirements has been seriously reduced.

Since the European war began in August, 1914, the average number enrolled in 1913-1914 and the registration for June, 1914, were the last attendance figures showing no war-time influence. As the registration in clerical and trade schools was relatively small, and was influenced by various factors other than general economic conditions, we need not consider it in our study of war influences.

*The vigorous efforts of Mr. Frank V. Thompson, Superintendent of Schools, and of Miss Susan J. Ginn, the Director of the Boston Vocational Guidance Bureau, to check the withdrawal of children from school during the war period have called public attention to the losses which I have described in some detail in this paper. My investigation has been greatly facilitated by the cordial co-operation of Boston school officials. I am particularly indebted to the Rev. A. F. Hickey, for the use of parochial school attendance records, and to Miss Helena W. McMahon, who is in charge of the Certification Office, for excellent summaries of certification records. Miss Heermann, the secretary of the Research Department, has given much careful attention to the statistical tables.

In comparing the attendance figures of the years following the outbreak of the war, it must be remembered that gains or losses are spread over four school grades or age groups in the secondary, and over five (Table II) or eight (Table I) age groups in the elementary attendance records. So also in considering the certification records of Table V, allowance must be made for the fact that employment certificates are issued to an age group covering but two years, while the educational certificates are issued to minors 16 to 21 years of age, or to a five-year group.

TABLE I
VARIATIONS IN MEMBERSHIP IN BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1912-1918

SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN BOSTON SCHOOLS AT SPECIFIED TIME					
	1912- 1913	1913- 1914	1914- 1915	1915- 1916	1916- 1917	1917- 1918
Total.....	96,965	100,502	102,302	103,541	100,533	99,363
High and Latin.....	13,331	14,393	15,714	16,882	16,755	15,368
Elementary grades.....	83,170	85,577	85,871	85,884	83,087	83,326
Clerical and Trade.....	464	532	717	775	691	669
GAIN OR LOSS FROM PRECEDING YEAR						
Total.....	+1,955	+3,537	+1,800	+1,239	-3,008	-1,170
High and Latin.....	+438	+1,062	+1,321	+1,168	-127	-1,387
Elementary grades.....	+1,351	+2,407	+294	+13	-2,797	+239
Clerical and Trade.....	+166	+68	+185	+58	-84	-22
PERCENTAGE OF PRECEDING YEAR						
Total.....	102.1	103.6	101.8	101.2	97.1	98.8
High and Latin.....	103.4	108.0	109.2	107.4	99.3	91.7
Elementary grades.....	101.7	102.9	100.3	100.0	96.7	100.3
Clerical and Trade.....	155.7	114.6	134.8	108.1	89.2	96.8

A study of the attendance statistics given in Tables I and II suggests that the effects of an economic crisis may be felt first by the

younger child laborers, as the loss in school attendance shows itself earlier in the elementary than in the secondary schools. In the first year following the outbreak of the war, the secondary schools gained 1,321 in membership or an average of 330 for each of the four high school grades. This gain was greater than that of the year before the outbreak of the war by 259, or 65 for each high school grade. In the same year, the elementary schools gained but 294 or 37 for each of the eight grades, while during the year before the outbreak of the war they had gained 2,407 or 301 for each grade. The gain was smaller than that of the preceding year by 2,113 or an average of 264 per grade.

TABLE II
ENROLLMENT OF CHILDREN IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
OF BOSTON ON JUNE 30, 1914-1918

SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED ON JUNE 30, IN SPECIFIED YEARS				
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Total.....	106,406	106,475	106,361	104,902	104,559
Boston Public.....	85,737	85,564	85,143	83,224	82,494
Parochial.....	20,669	20,911	21,218	21,678	22,065
SCHOOLS	GAIN OR LOSS FROM PRECEDING YEAR				
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Total.....	.....	+69	-114	-1,459	-343
Boston Public.....	.....	-173	-421	-1,919	-730
Parochial.....	.....	+242	+307	+460	+387
SCHOOLS	PERCENTAGE OF PRECEDING YEAR				
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Total.....	.....	100.1	99.9	98.6	99.7
Boston Public.....	.....	99.8	99.5	97.7	99.1
Parochial.....	.....	101.2	101.5	102.2	101.8

In 1915-1916, the secondary schools still showed a gain in membership greater than they had during the year before the outbreak of the war (Table I), but the elementary schools were at a standstill—instead of the annual increase of 301 per grade of the year before

the war, they showed a gain of but a fraction over one for each of the school years. The crisis in these changes in attendance came in 1916-1917, the year of entry into the war by the United States. The secondary schools had a loss in membership of 127 from the preceding year, but their membership was still 2,362 greater than during the school year prior to the outbreak of the war; while the elementary schools had a loss of 2,797 from the preceding year, and their membership was 2,490 less than during the year before the outbreak of the war; in other words, the membership per grade is 591 greater in the secondary schools and 311 less in the elementary schools than it was in the year before the outbreak of the war.

However, the losses of schooling by the younger children were not quite so great as appears from records of membership in the public elementary schools; the parochial schools were gaining during this period, as one new parish school was opened in 1916 and three in 1917. The enrollment on June 30, though somewhat less than the average number belonging during the school year, will furnish an index of the changes in attendance during the war period. A combination of the attendance records of the two systems of elementary schools results in some reduction in the losses, but does not alter the general trend; with a total registration of 106,000 children, the schools had gained but 69 at the end of the first school year following the outbreak of war, and there were large losses in the following years which reached 1,847 by June, 1918. The new parochial schools withdrew children only from the lower grades of the public schools as, in building up parish schools, it is customary to begin with the younger children. It is probable, also, that the checking of immigration has been a factor in preventing the normal increase in attendance in the elementary schools.

The literacy requirements of the Massachusetts laws make it probable that but few children in classes below the fourth grade left to become wage earners, so that it is safe to assume that the working children were drawn entirely from the upper elementary grades. The registration in these grades on June 30, 1915, shows an increase over that of 1914 of 1,025 or 205 per grade, but no gain was made in the registration of June, 1916; there was a loss of 541, or 108 per grade, in 1917, and of 1,233, or 247 per grade, in 1918, (Table III). Similar losses of children of working age were taking

place in the parochial schools, as the registration of children 14 to 16 years of age decreased from 2,205 in June, 1917, to 2,101 in 1918, or by about 5 per cent. The elementary losses have been checked, also, by the age requirements of the child labor law; as a result of their somewhat precocious school careers, many Boston children do not reach the legal working age until after they have entered the secondary schools. In 1917, for example, over 1,200 children who were registered in the eighth grade in June, did not reach their fourteenth birthdays until some time after the following September. On the other hand many children go to work with less than an elementary school education, as during the first eight months of the current year 41 per cent, or 2,668 of 6,494 children who obtained employment certificates, left from grades lower than the eighth.

TABLE III
REGISTRATION OF PUPILS IN BOSTON HIGH SCHOOLS AND
UPPER ELEMENTARY GRADES ON JUNE 30
IN SPECIFIED YEARS

SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF CHILDREN REGISTERED IN BOSTON SCHOOLS ON JUNE 30, IN SPECIFIED YEARS					
	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Total.....	58,036	59,821	62,118	62,781	62,038	59,343
High schools.....	12,289	13,340	14,612	15,276	15,074	13,612
Grades 4-8.....	45,747	46,481	47,506	47,505	46,964	45,731
GAIN OR LOSS FROM PRECEDING YEAR						
Total.....	+1,069	+1,785	+2,297	+663	-743	-2,695
High schools.....	+496	+1,051	+1,272	+664	-202	-1,462
Grades 4-8.....	+573	+734	+1,025	-1	-541	-1,233
PERCENTAGE OF PRECEDING YEAR						
Total.....	101.9	103.1	103.8	101.1	98.8	95.7
High schools.....	104.2	108.6	109.5	104.5	98.7	90.3
Grades 4-8.....	101.3	101.6	102.2	100.0	98.9	97.4

Variations in the number of elementary school graduates who entered high schools give further evidence of the losses in school attendance. Boston was justly proud of the exceptionally high rate of attendance in her secondary schools, which had been won by a carefully administered scheme of pre-vocational classes and vocational schools, and by special attention to the welfare of first-year high school students. The high percentage of increase in the number of elementary school graduates who entered the secondary schools in September, 1914, immediately after the outbreak of the European war, speaks well for the success of these efforts. But this gain of nearly 12 per cent was greatly reduced in 1915, and both 1916 and 1917 showed increasing losses, so that the last entering class was 711 smaller than the one which began high school work in September, 1914 (Table IV).*

TABLE IV.
NUMBER OF PUPILS ADMITTED TO BOSTON SECONDARY
SCHOOLS, 1913-1917

	NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENTERING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN SPECIFIED YEARS				
	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Total admissions.....	5,895	6,526	6,799	7,018	6,068
Graduates of elementary schools...	4,794	5,361	5,516	5,477	4,650
	GAIN OR LOSS FROM PRECEDING YEAR				
	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Total admissions.....	+178	+631	+273	+219	-950
Graduates of elementary schools...	+428	+567	+155	-39	-827
	PERCENTAGE OF PRECEDING YEAR				
	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Total admissions.....	107.8	110.7	104.2	103.2	86.5
Graduates of elementary schools...	103.9	111.8	102.9	99.3	84.9

The secondary school attendance statistics suggest that vacancies caused by the draft have been filled largely by high school

*Records for 1918 are not available, as schools have been closed to check the spread of influenza.

students. During the prosperous years between the outbreak of the war and the calling of young men to enter the United States army, there was a remarkable increase in the number of young persons who were able to continue their education, but the last two years have brought a rapid loss in the high school registration. This transfer of the young persons from the schools has not been accomplished by an intelligently supervised draft, but by a process of tempting children with the high wages which have resulted from the blind bidding of employers for needed assistance. The early months of 1918 were the ones which did most to wreck the school careers of secondary students. Many who had worked during the summer of 1917 must have returned to school in the fall, for the registration in December was 902 more than in the previous June, but the closing of schools because of coal shortage in the early part of 1918 had a disastrous effect on the attendance in high schools, as 2,364 students left before the end of the school year. It is difficult to convince these young persons, who easily command high war-time wages, that more schooling is necessary to insure vocational success, and so a decreasing proportion will avail themselves of the generous opportunities for training which Boston has provided in her great system of secondary schools.

The records of the Boston office for the certification of working minors tell what is taking the place of these forfeited educational opportunities. New laws which went into effect a year before the outbreak of the war, required certificates for minors 16 to 21 years of age employed in mercantile and industrial establishments, and made possible compulsory attendance in the Boston continuation school classes. This latter requirement, together with the growing sentiment against child labor, resulted in a marked falling off in the demand for the services of children 14 to 16 years of age; thus nearly 3,000 fewer children of this age group went to work in 1915 than in 1913 (Table V). The apparent increase in 1914 in the number of young persons 16 to 21 years of age who applied for certificates was due to irregularities connected with the first enforcement of the new law.

The startling increase in the number of employment certificates issued to working minors in 1916-1918 tells the story of what was happening to the lost school children. (*Table V.*) In 1916 the number of children 14 to 16 years of age who presented written prom-

TABLE V.
VARIATIONS AT THE BOSTON OFFICE IN THE ISSUANCE OF
CERTIFICATES REQUIRED OF WORKING MINORS,
1913-1918*

TYPE OF CERTIFICATE	NUMBER OF WORK CERTIFICATES ISSUED TO MINORS IN SPECIFIED YEARS					
	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918 (8 mos.)
Total.....	32,208	38,702	34,766	52,940	54,861	40,026
Employment (14 to 16 years).....	9,973	8,965	7,056	14,647	17,601	13,703
Educational (16 to 21 years).....	22,235	29,737	27,710	38,293	37,260	26,323
GAIN OR LOSS FROM PRECEDING YEAR						
Total.....	.....	+6,494	-3,936	+18,174	+1,921	+6,200†
Employment (14 to 16 years).....	+3,668	-1,008	-1,909	+7,591	+2,954	+3,082†
Educational (16 to 21 years).....	*	+7,502	-2,027	+10,583	-1,033	+3,118†
PERCENTAGE OF PRECEDING YEAR						
Total.....	.....	120.2	89.8	152.3	103.6	118.3
Employment (14 to 16 years).....	158.2	89.9	78.7	207.6	120.2	129.0
Educational (16 to 21 years).....	*	133.7	93.2	138.2	97.3	113.4

* The law requiring educational certificates of all minors employed in factories, workshops, manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments went into effect in September, 1913.

† These are the differences between the numbers obtained in January to September, 1917 and 1918, including both first issues and reissued certificates. There were gains in the numbers of first issues of certificates of 1,740 for the 14 to 16 group, and 283 for the 16 to 21 group. The younger children show less tendency to change their positions in 1918.

ises of employment and demanded their "work papers" was more than twice the number of 1915; the increase in the total number issued continued during 1917 and 1918. (*Table V.*) The lack of correspondence between the numbers leaving school and this excessive issuance of certificates is explained by the large amount of shifting from job to job, which is another characteristic of this period. From 50 to 60 per cent of the certificates obtained by the younger workers have been issued to these shifters. (*Table VI.*) The number of children going to work in 1917 was slightly smaller than in 1916, but the process of re-distribution to meet war conditions reached its climax in this year when the number of reissued certificates was 20 per cent greater than the number of children who went to work for the first time. The percentage of shifting was less during the first eight months of 1918, but the average number per month of new certificates increased from 586 to 813; in other words, 227 more children per month left school to go to work.

Unskilled factory work has been substituted for the abandoned schooling of these children. (*Table VIII.*) In 1914 and 1915 less than a third of the children 14 to 16 years of age were certificated for factories and workshops, while in 1916-1918 the proportion of certificates issued to this age group which authorized such work increased to two-thirds. At the same time there has been no abnormal increase in the numbers employed in stores; although the excessive shifting of 1917 raised the total number of certificates authorizing store work, the number of new workers enlisted was 77 less than during the previous year. During 1918 the stores have averaged 22 more new child workers per month than they employed in 1917, but their gains were overshadowed by those of the factories so that their percentage of the children who obtained employment certificates was slightly less. War times have brought substantial increases in the number of children employed in offices and messenger services, though here again excessive shifting has resulted in greatly exaggerated totals of certificates authorizing such employment, (*Table VI*), and the proportional increase has not kept pace with that of the factories.

Greater laxity in the enforcement of the certification requirements for young persons 16 to 21 years of age lessens the value of the records showing variations in the issuance of educational certifications. Since literate young persons were not required to obtain

TABLE VI
DISTRIBUTION BY PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT OF BOSTON
CHILDREN 14 TO 16 YEARS OF AGE WHO OBTAINED
FIRST AND REISSUED CERTIFICATES IN 1916-1918

PLACE OF EM- PLOYMENT	NUMBER OF MINORS 14 TO 16 YEARS OLD CER- TIFICATED IN SPECIFIED YEARS							
	Total		1916		1917		1918 (8 mos.)	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
All places of employ- ment.....	45,851	100.0	14,647	100.0	17,601	100.0	13,603	100.0
First issues to chil- dren beginning work	20,626	45.0	7,086	48.4	7,033	40.0	6,507	47.8
Reissues to children changing jobs.....	25,225	55.0	7,561	51.6	10,568	60.0	7,096	52.2
Factories and work- shops, total.....	28,221	61.5	8,625	58.9	10,606	60.3	8,990	66.1
First issues.....	11,929	26.0	3,963	27.1	3,842	21.8	4,124	30.3
Reissues.....	16,292	35.5	4,662	31.8	6,764	38.4	4,866	35.8
Stores, total.....	8,663	18.9	2,985	20.4	3,578	20.3	2,100	15.4
First issues.....	4,169	9.1	1,544	10.5	1,467	8.3	1,158	8.5
Reissues.....	4,494	9.8	1,441	9.9	2,111	12.0	942	6.9
Offices, messenger, etc., total.....	8,967	19.6	3,037	20.7	3,417	19.4	2,513	18.5
First issues.....	4,528	9.9	1,579	10.7	1,724	9.8	1,225	9.0
Reissues.....	4,439	9.7	1,458	10.0	1,693	9.6	1,288	9.5

certificates until September, 1913, the first issues in 1913 and 1914 are no index of the number going to work. Employment certificates are exchanged for educational certificates when the children become 16 years of age, so that many of the first issues of the latter are obtained after one or two years of wage earning. The excessive amount of shifting is the most striking trend in the records showing the numbers of educational certificates issued during the war period; in 1916-1918 the total number issued was over three times as great as the number of young persons obtaining for the first time this type

of work permit. Educational certificates are unlike the employment records of the younger children in that they contain no specifications of the occupations in which the young persons are to engage, so they fail to show the war-time redistribution of the 16 to 21 year old workers.

Demoralizing war-time influences, other than the loss of secondary school training to which these young persons are subject, were pointed out in a recent conference by Miss S. J. Ginn, Director of the Boston Vocational Guidance Bureau. Initial wages average about \$2 a week higher than before the war and promotion is abnormally rapid. There is a tendency to flit from job to job in pursuit of the higher wages with which employers seek to entice sorely needed assistance. She feared the loss of salutary efforts to

TABLE VII
EDUCATIONAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED AT THE BOSTON OFFICE
TO YOUNG PERSONS 16 TO 21 YEARS OF AGE
1913-1918*

CERTIFICATES	1913- 1918	1913 4 mos.	1914 12 mos.	1915 12 mos.	1916 12 mos.	1917 12 mos.	1918 8 mos.
TOTAL NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES ISSUED TO							
YOUNG PERSONS.....	181,558	22,235	29,737	27,710	38,293	37,260	26,323
Literates.....	169,536	19,985	26,030	25,510	36,391	35,929	25,691
Illiterates.....	12,022	2,250	3,707	2,200	1,902	1,331	632
FIRST ISSUES OF CERTIFICATES TO YOUNG							
PERSONS.....	79,086	20,365	15,819	11,248	12,582	11,332	7,740
Literates.....	72,375	18,285	13,338	10,291	11,971	10,911	7,579
Illiterates.....	6,711	2,080	2,481	957	611	421	161
REISSUES OF CERTIFICATES TO YOUNG PER-							
SONS.....	102,472	1,870	13,918	16,462	25,711	25,928	18,583
Literates.....	97,161	1,700	12,692	15,219	24,420	25,018	18,112
Illiterates.....	5,311	170	1,226	1,243	1,291	910	471

*Average number of certificates per person 2.3; literates, 2.34; illiterates, 1.8.

earn promotion by patient application and honest striving for efficiency, and expressed misgivings about the difficulties which these children will encounter in the period of readjustment which must follow this war-time independence.

TABLE VIII
DISTRIBUTION BY PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT OF BOSTON
CHILDREN 14 TO 16 YEARS OF AGE WHO WERE CER-
TIFICATED IN SPECIFIED YEARS

PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT	NUMBER OF MINORS 14 TO 16 YEARS OLD CERTIFICATED IN SPECIFIED YEARS							
	Total	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918 mos.
Total.....	78,150	6,305	9,973	8,965	7,056	14,647	17,601	13,603
Factories and workshops.	40,453	2,532	4,647	2,761	2,292	8,625	10,606	8,990
Stores.....	20,286	2,655	3,589	3,052	2,327	2,985	3,578	2,100
Office, messenger, etc....	17,411	1,118	1,737	3,152	2,437	3,037	3,417	2,513
Total.....	PERCENTAGE OF MINORS 14 TO 16 YEARS OLD CERTIFICATED IN SPECIFIED YEARS							
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Factories and workshops.	51.8	40.2	46.6	30.8	32.5	58.9	60.3	66.1
Stores.....	25.9	42.1	36.0	34.0	33.0	20.4	20.3	15.4
Office, messenger, etc....	22.3	17.7	17.4	35.2	34.5	20.7	19.4	18.5

Summing up the war-time situation in Boston, we find that there has been a serious loss of school attendance showing itself first in the upper elementary grades and reaching serious proportions in secondary schools since our own entry into the war. The large increase in the employment of young children in unskilled factory work makes necessary a vigorous enforcement of legal restrictions intended for their protection. Their right to an 8-hour day, freedom from night work, protection from hazardous employment, and attendance during work hours at continuation school should be jealously guarded. In our anxiety to promote the welfare of enlisted

soldiers, we are in danger of forgetting that our future social and economic progress must be safe guarded by this young army of reserves.

Our reconstruction program should include well-organized efforts to compensate for the loss of training suffered by this war-time generation of young folks. While some of the secondary students may return to school, it is probable that many will be unwilling to re-enter classes lower than those of their former associates. Their faulty preparation for citizenship and for more skilled vocational activities must be supplemented by well-organized continuation and evening school instruction. An extension of the age of compulsory continuation school attendance from 16 to 18 and a lengthening of the hours from 4 to 8 per week should follow the relaxation of war-time economic pressure. Experience both at home and abroad proves that it is difficult to induce defectively trained young persons to become regular, volunteer attendants of evening school classes, but the educators in the United Kingdom have discovered that this may be promoted by the pressure of public opinion which may be brought to bear by relatives, friends and employers. Energetic campaigns in which public exhortation is combined with much personal attention have been organized in many English and Scotch cities, so that no young person can fail to realize both the future dangers and present remedies for his defective training. It is not too soon for American cities to plan similar activities which shall utilize patriotic fervor for the promotion of efforts which will qualify for the services needed in time of peace

A NATIONAL CHILDREN'S POLICY

RAYMOND G. FULLER

Director of Publicity, National Child Labor Committee

The children of every belligerent nation in Europe have been hard hit by the war, and through them the nation has suffered harm; for a nation's temporal self is not its present alone, nor its past, but also its future. These children, many of them, have been orphaned, they have been underfed, perhaps all have known something of sorrow and privation, even the littlest ones. The Red Cross and other humanitarian agencies have ministered to the fatherless, the hungry and the sick among the victims of the great strife; and it is splendid work, splendidly done. But the need of relief and the work of relief do not tell the whole story of injured childhood; for part of the story is concerned with education and child labor. It is in these respects, chiefly, that the war has touched the boys and girls of America—boys and girls today, men and women tomorrow, citizens already.

There are close relations, in war time as in peace time, between the problem of child labor and the problem of education. One question with which all the belligerent countries, including our own, have been confronted is whether the children are more valuable to the nation in school or in the factory. England and France have expressed the belief that they are safer and more profitable in school. At the beginning of the war England let her school system go to smash, but she is now rebuilding it better than it was before, besides raising the requirements of compulsory attendance and the protective standards relating to child labor. Bravely and wisely, France has made a strenuous and remarkably successful effort, ever since 1914, to keep the schools going and to keep the children in school. Close to the gunfire, sometimes in dugouts, the schools have been maintained, a part of the frontier of freedom; moving backward as the armies of the Allies withdrew toward Paris, but moving forward as the soldiers advanced into redeemed territory. During the war France has spent much more money on education than in any pre-

vious period of her history. She has not thereby abandoned the practice of thrift, a trait for which her people are famous; she has been gloriously thrifty with her future man-power—the man-power she will need in the days of peace and reconstruction to come.

Significantly the Fisher bill which recently passed the House of Commons and received the royal assent is both a child-labor law and a compulsory-education law. It passed as a measure of urgent necessity, and powerful interests that in peace time would have been bitterly hostile offered little resistance. In the midst of war, and largely because of conditions created by the war, England has placed on the statute books a piece of constructive legislation which opens, says the *London Times*, "a new era in English history as well as in English education." Though not all of the numerous provisions of the new act are to go into effect immediately, the measure represents a conviction—somewhat belated, but all the firmer on that account—that war time furnishes no excuse for neglecting the welfare of the children but rather furnishes a convincing argument for doing everything possible to conserve the vital resources on which the future of the nation will depend. And the value of these resources is not merely in their quantity but in their quality, which education develops and child labor diminishes.

In France and England the pressure of war conditions, as affecting school attendance and juvenile employment, has been immeasurably heavier than in America; but those grievously burdened countries have taken forward steps for the protection and education of the children. Here in the United States, the public has been slowly waking up to the national menace of the great decrease in school attendance and the great increase in the amount of child labor. Fortunately there exists in Washington a definite, genuine policy in respect to the wartime welfare of American children. It is a policy that looks not only to the present but to the future. This national policy of the national government already deserves much credit for achievement, though its full benefits will not accrue until later. Let us hope that the policy itself will continue after the war.

Upon our entry into the world war a disposition was manifested in some of the states to relax protective labor standards generally and, in a few instances, the legislature empowered the governor to suspend the labor laws in case of demand from the Council of

National Defense, which, seemingly in its haste, had suggested such authorization. Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, protested against this letting-down of the bars and received from the Council the following assurance:

"The Council of National Defense is very desirous of maintaining existing standards as to labor. Furthermore, the labor laws as to which the power to suspend was asked to be given to the governors, were intended to be only those relating to the adult male labor engaged in war work. The Council of National Defense therefore unites with the Children's Bureau in urging that the laws relating to the hours and conditions of labor of women and children should be rigorously enforced."

It should be noted, perhaps, that no governor has yet been asked by the Council of Defense to suspend any of the labor laws of his state. On the contrary the Council has actively cooperated in carrying out the Government's policy for the protection and education of the children. It is not improbable that the Defense Council, in making its original request, was actuated by the desire to keep the suspension of labor laws in its own safe hands.

On several occasions the President has personally given expression to the Government's policy. For instance, he wrote a year ago: "As the labor situation created by the war develops, I am more interested than ever, if that were possible, in throwing all the safeguards possible around the labor of women and children in order that no intolerable or injurious burden may be placed upon them. I am therefore very glad indeed that the National Child Labor Committee is diligently continuing its labors and extending its vigilance in this important matter. By so doing it is contributing to efficiency and economy of production, as well as to the preservation of life and health."

The Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Labor, as executive officers of the Government, have also taken a decided stand against the plea that the employment of children in industry is a war necessity. In conjunction with other Cabinet members they declared last spring that "no emergency exists which justifies proposing any relaxation of the laws safeguarding the working conditions of young people." On October 1, this position was publicly reaffirmed by Secretary Wilson when he said, "I have no objection to having a child do what will not injure his strength and development, but industry is too exacting. It is

absolutely imperative that we preserve at least minimum standards under which children are admitted into industry."

After the federal child-labor act of 1916 was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in June, 1918, the following clause, by order of the War Labor Policies Board, was made a condition of all war contracts: "The contractor shall not directly or indirectly employ in the performance of this contract any minor under the age of 14 years, or permit any minor between the ages of 14 and 16 years to work more than 8 hours in any one day, more than 6 days in any one week, or before 6 A. M. or after 7 P. M." Later, in a public statement, Felix Frankfurter, Chairman of the Board, set forth the grounds on which the policy of the Board—and of the Government—is based:

"The prohibition of the employment of children below certain ages does not mean that the employment of children above those ages is favored. To recruit children of fourteen or sixteen years of age for industry is ignoring their future value as trained workers. Neither the patriotic desire to serve immediately, nor the attraction of high wages, should draw children from school to work.

"Children above the minimum ages of permitted employment must still be considered as potential citizens, and not merely as present producers. The sacrifice involved in the premature labor of children is not yet necessary. The curtailment of nonessential industry, and the employment of men and women not now productively engaged, will undoubtedly prove sufficient to care for the requirements of the conduct of the war.

"In order to satisfy the claims of the future, the maintenance of present educational and child-labor standards is indispensable. The formative years of youth should be safeguarded by purposeful training of developed usefulness in the nation. The time is not yet in sight when the defense of the nation must be assumed by children. The men and women of America are competent to the task."

Coincidentally and correlatively with the effort of the Government to prohibit child labor where it can and discourage it elsewhere, the Bureau of Education, aided by various official and unofficial agencies, has been vigorously campaigning to maintain the efficiency of the schools, to keep the children in the schools and to get the children who have needlessly left school back to the tasks that are better for them in the long run and better for the country. For a full recognition of the importance of this endeavor the American people can draw upon the lessons of European experience or upon their own common sense.

H. A. L. Fisher, president of the English Board of Education and author of the Fisher bill, said of England's mistake: "At the beginning of the war, when first the shortage of labor became apparent, a raid was made upon the schools, a great raid, a successful raid, a raid started by a large body of unreflecting public opinion. The result of that raid upon the schools has been that hundreds of thousands of children in this country have been prematurely withdrawn from school, and have suffered an irreparable damage, a damage which it will be quite impossible for us hereafter adequately to repair."

For school administrators and teachers in our own country, said the United States Commissioner of Education some months ago, there are "just two matters of supreme importance: to win the war for freedom, democracy, and peace, and to fit our schools and our children for life and citizenship in the new era which the war is bringing in." President Wilson enforced the same idea by saying: "After the war there will be urgent need not only for trained leadership in all lines of industrial, commercial, social and civic life, but for a very high average of intelligence and preparation on the part of all the people."

Few of the children who have been detached from school by the money-making opportunities of war time are getting the proper training for the nation's work when they shall have grown up to be men and women. Mostly they are being prepared only for the low-paid jobs or for unemployment; they are not, of course, receiving the broader than vocational education that successful democracy requires. Thousands who have abandoned school for industry because of the high wages or other attractions—and in consequence too of the short-sightedness or avariciousness of parents, or the failure of the schools to hold their interest, or the lax enforcement of compulsory education and child labor laws where such laws are adequate in their provisions—will never return to their studies. Wartime child labor is already imposing on the nation a cost that will be paid tomorrow in lessened national efficiency. The schools, despite their faults, are developing national assets, which will pay dividends when the children come to maturity.

No wonder the Government's attitude has been that expressed in an official statement of Secretary Lane and Commissioner Claxton: "The entire spirit of the Administration is, and has been from

the beginning, that the war should in no way be used as an excuse for giving the children of the country any less education, in quantity or quality, than they otherwise would have had, but on the contrary that the schools should do everything possible to increase their efficiency, to the end that the children now in the schools may at the conclusion of their course be even better qualified than ever before to take up the duties and responsibilities of life. Both the present demands of the war emergency and the prospective demands of the necessary readjustments inevitably to follow emphasize the need of providing in full measure for the education of all the people." Obviously the children must receive less education, both in quantity and in quality, if fewer children are in school.

From the point of view of the War Department, the first business of which is purely military, education is not deemed of little importance. As said by a writer in "School Life," a new periodical published by the Government, "The War Department has not only had its committee on education and special training, with a record of educational achievement already significant, but has also undertaken to see to it, through the establishment of schools at the newer munition-plant communities, that no children shall suffer for lack of schooling because of war adjustments." Many of the younger draftees have been sent to college for the enhancement of their efficiency both as soldiers and as citizens.

To high school boys Secretary Baker, in concurrence with Secretary Daniels, said: "The Army and Navy do not want, and cannot use, boys under 18 years of age nor men of any age who are not strong and well developed physically. So far as the Army and Navy are concerned, there is nothing more important that the schools can do than to keep going at full capacity, and at the same time to emphasize in every possible way their work in physical education. High school boys will render the best service of which they are capable by remaining in school until completion of the high-school course." Many young men have been rejected from the army on account of physical unfitness; some of the blame belongs to the schools, and some to the institution of child labor.

Such work as boys and girls can do without detriment to their physical, mental and moral development is not child labor in the opprobrious sense. The Government has favored and even asked the enlistment of children and young people in the great army of

victory-winners and peace-bringers. Its problem was not merely how to make their work harmless but how to make it helpful and beneficial to the workers themselves—in short, to make it educative. The problem was not too difficult and its solution has a conspicuous exemplification in the United States Boys Working Reserve.

The Reserve was organized by the Employment Service of the Department of Labor and consists of boys who give their vacations to help the farmers raise food enough to support the Allied cause. It was believed by its promoters that the boys were just as important as the crops, and William E. Hall, director of the Reserve, said at the outset: "When we furnish a man to a war industry or to a farmer our responsibility ceases; when we furnish a boy, our real responsibility begins. We must see that the boy's physical and moral welfare is properly safeguarded." As part of the protective program, the minimum age for enlistment was fixed at sixteen. Well-qualified men were found to look after the boys in and out of the camps that were established in agricultural communities and to direct the camp activities. The enterprise has developed into a great school of health, manliness, civics and patriotism. Plans are afoot for increasing its educational service by providing more instruction in agricultural and related subjects. The spirit of the whole thing is right. The Reserve is far more than a food-producing institution, to say nothing of its food-consuming capacity; it is an educational institution for the conservation of the youth of America.

President Wilson is commander-in-chief of the United States School Garden Army, made up of younger children than the boys of the Working Reserve. In this organization again the problem has been set and solved of utilizing the child-power of the country without impairing potential man-power and woman-power. Furtherance of two main objects is sought through the School Garden Army. Increased food production, and the training of children in thrift, industry, service, responsibility and patriotism. The health-giving value of the army's work was suggested by Cardinal Gibbons when he spoke of its furnishing "interesting and instructive outdoor exercise."

The part which the Children's Bureau has taken in putting into operation the national child-power policy is comprehensive. The Bureau is charged with the duty of enforcing the order of the War

Labor Policies Board prohibiting the employment of children in war work and it is co-operating with the Bureau of Education in the "back-to-school" drive. These activities may properly be regarded as included within its program for Children's Year. Popularly, however, Children's Year means principally the great baby-saving campaign which the Bureau is conducting. Six million cards for recording the weight and measurements of babies have been requested by and sent out to state organizations and individuals, and it is safe to say that 20,000,000 adults have been made aware of the importance of height and weight as tests of normal development and have had their attention called to the methods by which unfavorable deviation from the normal may be overcome. The Bureau is carrying on a campaign of follow-up publicity on the subject of child hygiene.

All these child-saving and childhood-conserving enterprises of the Government present an admirable record both as to purpose and as to achievement, but it would be wrong to assume that nothing remains to be done for American children through governmental action. Some of these enterprises go no farther than propaganda because of the inability of the federal government to do things which perhaps it is better fitted than the states to do, or which it should have a larger share in doing. Compulsory education, and indeed practically the whole administration and control of education, is in the hands of the states, counties and municipalities; and upon them rest heavy responsibilities today.

Moreover all of the activities which we have here been considering are those of the executive branch of the federal government. The deficiencies of executive action—and of state action—have led to a campaign for the enactment of a new federal child-labor law to take the place of the law declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last June. When the War Labor Policies Board, following that event, promulgated its ruling forbidding the employment of children under 14 years in government-contract work, and of children between 14 and 16 in such work, many people erroneously assumed that the problem of the wartime prohibition of child labor had been solved. But the ruling of the Board is of necessity narrow in scope and temporary in effect. Only federal legislation can give complete effect to a national child labor policy.

The general children's policy adopted by the executive branch

of the national government sprang out of national needs—needs which will not cease to exist when the war is over. What is good to do for the children in war time will be good to do for them in time of peace. We may believe that the war has brought to America a new realization of our appalling waste of child life, a little more thoughtfulness about the national evil and menace of child labor, a greater appreciation of the war value and peace value of education, a fuller knowledge of the desirability and practicability of making children's work educative in character, and an added sense of the naturalness and wisdom of a national policy, in the national behalf, for the protection and education of the children. Let the policy we now have be carried over into the long period of reconstruction ahead, and let ways be found to give it adequate effect.

This is Children's Year. As the nineteenth was the Century of the Woman, so is the twentieth the Century of the Child. Let us make America the Nation of the Child. How else can we do so much to assure the everlasting safety and greatness of our country?

A QUEST OF CONSTITUTIONALITY.

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I

Writing in the September number of the *North American Review*, Prof. Frederick Green of the University of Illinois, said of the decision whereby the Supreme Court annulled the Child-Labor Act of 1916: "This is the most important decision that any court has made for many years. . . . In its effect on child labor, and, in a sense, in its denial to the nation of power to make its will effective, the immediate results of the decision are regrettable; but if it brings about an amendment to the Constitution which will give Congress power to deal directly with the subjects that it ought to have control of, the decision may prove a blessing in disguise."

The American people are inclined to having their own way, and in this respect, among others, they are progressive; but they are also conservative, and they are not disposed to change their Constitution unless they feel themselves forced to do it. They would much rather get the federal legislation they desire through the Constitution as it stands, if that is possible, than to amend or overturn their Constitution, flying from known to unknown evils.

Following the child-labor decision (in the Dagenhart case) proposals were made, both outside of Congress and in it, for amending the Constitution so as to permit greater freedom to Congress in the enactment of protective, social legislation, but none of these proposals have been taken very seriously in any quarter—at least they have not been taken up. So far as child-labor legislation is concerned, its protagonists are hopeful, despite the decision in the Dagenhart case, that a measure that will pass the test of constitutionality can be secured under the now existing powers of Congress and under the rules and precedents already established by the Supreme Court.

They are still pinning their faith to what is actual constitutionality rather than to what ought to be constitutionality.

The Child-Labor Act of 1916, though unenforceable, has been retained on the statute-books, in the hope that at some future date a favorable opportunity for the consideration of its validity may be presented. Professor Thomas I. Parkinson of the Columbia Law School considers important the question "whether the federal commerce power must give way when it touches local conditions of production and trade or whether that power shall prevail in the interest of the national welfare. The settlement of this question requires a more conclusive determination of the exact limits of the congressional power to prohibit interstate commerce, and this we can only hope to have by preserving the original act and seeking a reconsideration by the court of its recent decision." Professor Thomas Reed Powell, also of the Columbia Law School, says: "Decisions which are out of joint with the times, which are not required by any clear mandate of the Constitution, and which meet with strong dissent from some of the ablest of the judges, are not likely to remain long unmodified."

At present, however, no effort is being made to secure a review of the case and the campaign for federal child-labor legislation is directed toward the enactment of legislation under other authority than that of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution.

There is no definitely expressed sanction in the Constitution for a federal child-labor law, but it is to be remembered that under the implied-powers clause of that document and under the judicial doctrine of implied powers Congress has passed a large proportion of its more important legislation. By virtue of this clause and this doctrine we have the federal banking system, the protective tariff, the public works in aid of commerce, the immigration laws and the national conscript army, to name but a few examples. It is also to be remembered that while child-labor regulation under the constitutional powers of Congress must be achieved by indirect means, the regulation itself not being direct, there are numerous instances in which the Supreme Court has upheld Congress in doing indirectly what it cannot do directly. The White Slave, Lottery and Oleo-margarine cases may be mentioned in this connection.

II

The history of child-labor legislation, state and federal, is illustrative of many practical problems in constitutionality, as well as of the tendency to seek national action in social matters.

The first child labor law in America was passed by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1836. This was not a very drastic measure. In 1842 the Massachusetts legislature went much farther and limited to 10 hours a day the labor of children under 12 years of age in manufacturing establishments.

In those times it was the custom of American employers, whenever they were faced with a shortage of low-priced labor, to import such labor from abroad. The foreign supply has been greatly curtailed by immigration laws, passed by Congress, and one source of the domestic supply has been partially cut off by child labor laws, passed by the states.

During the last decade and a half, as compared with the preceding period, the improvement and geographical extension of child-labor legislation have been rapid. There was ample need of progress in both respects. In an unpublished memorandum H. H. Hart says of conditions 15 years ago:—

“Many states had no laws regarding child labor; others had laws which could not be enforced; and a few had laws which could have been enforced but were not. Less than ten states had anything like an adequate method of meeting the increasing problem of child labor, comparable to systems long since established in European countries such as England, Germany, France, Holland and Scandinavia. America was plunging headlong into a policy of child exploitation, following closely in outline but exceeding in volume that of these older countries. The accident rate among children employed in dangerous occupations was from two to four times that of adults in the same occupation.”

To-day every state but one has a child labor law of some sort, the exceptional state having in its Constitution a provision forbidding the employment of children under 14 years of age in mines. There is little uniformity among the numerous laws. The protective standards are of infinite variety and are sometimes so low as not to be standards at all—much less, protective standards. Many of the laws, for this reason and also because of the various difficulties of enforce-

ment, are of slight practical effect. The volume of child labor in America continues to increase. It has been vastly augmented by the war.

III

Adequate protection of the country from child labor has been impossible to secure through state legislation. In 1916 Congress passed a child labor law which went into effect on September 1, 1917, and which was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on June 3, 1918. President Wilson, with the support of the National Child Labor Committee, the American Federation of Labor and other organizations, is urging the early passage of new federal legislation.

The greater effectiveness of federal laws, as compared with state laws, has been only one of the many reasons for the effort to secure national action. The appeals to Congress—one of which was successful—are significant of the long evolution of national-mindedness. The first child-labor laws were passed by the states because everybody used to look to the states alone for social legislation. But before this war the people were thinking nationally and were coming more and more to look to the nation for protection and the promotion of public health, morals and general welfare. Not only were they thinking nationally, but more things were coming to be looked upon as matters of national concern. The war has strengthened these tendencies of American thought.

A few sentences from a recent address by Professor John Dewey are suggestive in connection with the changing attitude of which we have spoken: "I thought as I came here to-day on the railroad, of the difference between what I might call a lawyer's point of view and an engineer's point of view in social matters. As I passed from one state to another on the railroad, I did not notice in the country any lines marking off states and counties from each other such as we find on the maps. The standpoint of the engineer is that of direct, constant intercourse, intercommunion between all the different parts of our country. That railroad train and that railroad in its transportation of people did not and could not recognize the state divisions. It is a question whether we are going to take the narrow, legal, technical point of view regarding our political units or whether we are going to take the point of view of the engineer, which recog-

nizes the constant, continuous intercommunion of both persons and goods, and the interdependence of all parts of the country upon each other thus brought about."

That question is raised by proposals of federal legislation against child labor. When the child labor law which was recently declared invalid was before Congress, Professor Parkinson of Columbia said: "If this legislation is desirable, certainly it ought not to be held up by Congress merely because of the possibility of its being declared unconstitutional. No one can say that it is unconstitutional. If the mere fear of its unconstitutionality were to prevent the passage of legislation by Congress there would be no development of our constitutional law." The particular child labor measure to which Professor Parkinson referred has been found invalid; but child labor measures framed since last June furnish a fresh opportunity for the expression by Congress of the engineer's point of view in social matters and—if one of them is passed—for the further development by the Supreme Court of our constitutional law in conformity with that point of view.

IV

Child labor legislation by the states presents no difficulties in regard to constitutionality. It is enacted under the once monarchical authority of *parens patriae*, which developed out of the early law of *patria potestas*, or "power of the father." The several states of the federal union possess this parental relation, this relation of guardianship, to the children. But now that the federal union has become indubitably a nation—not suddenly but through process of history and judicial decision—Uncle Sam is being called upon to play the part of a father and to offer protection to the children, who are citizens not merely of the several states but of the nation.

Indubitably the United States is a nation. As a nation thinks, so is it.

The Supreme Court, while refusing to regard the preamble to the Constitution as an integral part of the fundamental law, admits nevertheless that the preamble made this federal union a nation. The United States, moreover, conforms accurately to that definition of a true "state" which is universally accepted by political scientists, since it possesses independence, organization and sovereignty. The implied-powers clause of the constitution has been so interpreted

by the Supreme Court as to prove the legal and actual existence of national sovereignty.

The United States is a nation, and a nation without police power is unthinkable. The Supreme Court has, on several occasions, affirmed the existence of a federal police power. It has necessarily treated this police power as an implied power, but the real basis of its existence is the fact of nationhood. The power of *parens patriae*, of modern trusteeship, is a branch of the police power.

The police power is that indefinite authority of a government to abridge liberty or property, without consent or compensation, for some newly recognized public purpose affecting health, safety, morals, or general welfare. The only restriction on this power, as such, is that its exercise must not be unreasonable or arbitrary.

It is sometimes maintained that this power belongs to the states exclusively and not to the federal government, as it was not expressly delegated by the constitution to Congress; but, as we have seen, the Supreme Court says that a federal police power does exist. In the White Slave cases, for instance, and in the Lottery case, it was decisively proven that a federal police power exists as an implied power.

The federal police power can not be exercised independently of the powers delegated to Congress, but only as a means to the adequate or full exercise of those powers. It is not direct in its application, but indirect. For example, Congress has power under the commerce clause to regulate commerce in the interest of public health, safety, morals and welfare. It has the same power under the taxing clause or any other clause delegating a definite power to Congress.

Now the exercise of the federal police power, as such, is never a violation of states' rights. The doctrine of states' rights arises only when Congress exceeds the powers expressly or impliedly granted it by the Constitution, thus overstepping into the state preserves. In the Dagenhart case, in which the child labor act of 1916 was declared unconstitutional, something was said about states' rights, though not in those exact words; and that was because the court regarded the act as an improper exercise of the commerce power. In the majority opinion, from which 4 of the 9 justices dissented, it was said that the regulation was not of commerce but of manufacture.

In the passage of the child-labor act, there was no misuse of the police power, although the police power was involved. The police power, as we have said, is unlimited, except by the criterion of reasonableness. Public opinion and state legislatures have said that regulation of child labor is reasonable, and that the protective standards of the 1916 act are reasonable.

V

In quest of constitutionality the proponents of federal child labor legislation, undaunted by the decision in the *Dagenhart* case, turned their attention to the war power of Congress and framed a measure entitled "A bill to provide for the national security and defense by prohibiting child labor during the war." The purpose of this bill, which was introduced in the House, is further described, in its own language, as "that of conserving the man-power of the nation." The measure was designed to take care immediately of the wartime child-labor situation, and its provisions, if the bill is passed, will be in force for the duration of the war and for 6 months thereafter.

It has considerable interest from the constitutional point of view, but hardly possesses now the practical desirability of some measure designed for permanence and based, in respect to constitutionality, on the taxing power of Congress.

There are many reasons for believing that such a bill, if passed by Congress, will meet the test of constitutionality in the courts. No question of states' rights is likely to arise. The Constitution did not delegate the power to levy taxes exclusively to the United States nor reserve it exclusively to the several states; it is, except as to import taxes, a power held in common by the states and the federal government. If the tax is clearly made an excise tax (perhaps not an easy thing to do), it will be subject to only one limitation, as the constitution limits indirect taxation in only one way—the tax must be geographically uniform. Congress, says the court over and over again, may otherwise levy indirect taxes as it pleases. The power to tax may even be used oppressively—"the responsibility of the legislature is not to the courts, but to the people by whom its members are elected."

Congress can tax for other purposes than to raise revenue. At

the very beginning of our national history, it passed a protective tariff law. Congress can tax for the purpose of destruction—for as Chief Justice Marshall said, “the power to tax is the power to destroy.” Congress taxed the state bank notes out of existence, and the Supreme Court said that Congress was within its rights. Congress taxed artificially colored oleomargarine out of existence, and the Supreme Court said there was nothing to prevent. Congress taxed the manufacture of poisonous phosphorus matches out of existence, and the constitutionality of the Esch law has never been questioned. Congress now has an opportunity to tax child labor out of existence in mines, quarries, mills, canneries and factories.

If the authority of Congress to do this needful thing comes before the Supreme Court, the court will apply the rule laid down by Marshall regarding the extent of federal power: “Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, and which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional.”

WHY HAVE HEALTH SUPERVISION OF THE WORKING CHILD?

DR. GEORGE P. BARTH

Director, Department of School Hygiene, Milwaukee

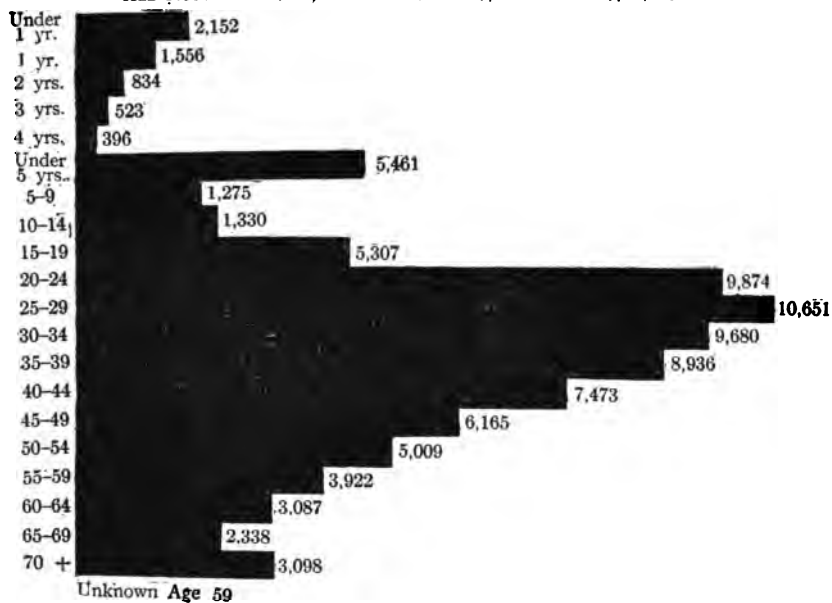
The startling figures presented by the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the first draft under the Selective Service Draft Act of 1917 may well give us food for thought, as they can be regarded as an official test of the physical stamina of the nation. When a physical examination of 2,500,000 young men, supposedly in the prime of life, determines that 29 per cent are unfit for military service and only 71 per cent are fit, or less than three-fourths, it shows that we are falling down on the proper health supervision of our youth.

Sufficient statistics are available to show that the condition is even worse among the women; and the women of the country are the ones upon whom dependence must be placed, probably more than the men, for the strength and stability of the nation.

A physical examination of 88,444 school children in Milwaukee shows that 10,851 had a physical defect serious enough to require correction. An intensive survey of absentees from school made by the Attendance Department and the Hygiene Department during the month of February 1917, shows that 147,258 half days were lost by the children. Of these, 121,077 were due to sickness, or 78.3 per cent and 26,251 to other causes. A study of 6,388 children of the Milwaukee Continuation School made by the Attendance Department, showed that 56.9 per cent of the working children went to work between the ages of fourteen years and fourteen years and six months. This study shows that there are 12,000 children between the ages of 14 and 17 working at this time in Milwaukee. Twelve per cent are absent daily from their work. Seventy-six per cent of this absence is due to illness. Sixty per cent of this illness is preventable. The average wage for child labor is \$8.13 per week, \$422.86 per year. \$253,716 is consequently the wage loss annually to children because of some preventable sickness.

DEATHS FROM TUBERCULOSIS—UNITED STATES—1915

ALL AGES Male, 48,223 Female, 35,442 Total, 83,665



DEATHS FROM TUBERCULOSIS—WISCONSIN—1915—

ALL AGES, 2,387



A personal examination of 745 children applying for school certificates for child labor permits resulted in the withholding of

205 for easily correctable physical defects. A glance at the accompanying charts of the tuberculosis mortality in the United States and in Wisconsin for the year 1915 is sufficient to challenge thought. That the mortality should rise so rapidly when the child is employed in the industries, and that the high point is reached before the age of thirty is indicative surely that better health protection is necessary.

Perusal of state regulations as to physical restrictions to child labor showed that there are no physical restrictions at all in 21 states; that the permit issuing officer alone determines physical fitness in 5 states; in 11 the issuing officer *may* call in a physician in doubtful cases; while in only 14, physical fitness must be determined by a physician. Here there is certainly room for improvement by better state laws.

New York is the only state, I believe, that makes any pretence of following up the child after it has received a permit, with the purpose of noting the effect of its work upon the system; though in several states—Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Mississippi, Ohio, etc.—factory inspectors may demand a certificate of physical fitness from the regular physician or a physician selected by the Board, if the child seems physically unable to perform the work at which engaged.

Since the passage of the law establishing continuation schools, Wisconsin is in a splendid position to gather valuable data on child labor so badly needed. This law makes it incumbent on all cities of 5,000 inhabitants to establish a continuation school, and other communities may. All children working under permit (14 to 17 years of age) must attend the schools in the day time not less than 8 hours per week for at least 8 months, and for such additional months or parts thereof as the other public schools in such city, town or village are in session in excess of eight during the regular school year.

Thirty-one continuation schools have now been established in the state, and by medical inspection or health supervision in the continuation schools, much data could be accurately obtained and much good accomplished among working children. In only one other state is the establishment of continuation schools and attendance therein made compulsory, that is, Pennsylvania. In two other states, New York and Massachusetts, establishment is optional; but when such school is organized attendance is compulsory.

NEW YORK'S VACATION PERMIT LAW

GEORGE A. HALL

Secretary, New York Child Labor Committee

As a result of the vacation permit law enacted by the 1918 legislature largely upon the request of school superintendents, 6,336 permits were issued in New York City and approximately 1,000 outside of New York. This law legalized the employment of children between 14 and 16 years of age with summer vacation permits in or in connection with mercantile establishments or business offices. This privilege was valid during July and August only. To obtain a vacation permit the child must furnish a certificate of attendance showing 130 days schooling prior to the date of application. The school grade requirement which is a part of the regular employment certificate law was waived. In order to safeguard the statute, the requirements for a promise of employment and the return of the permit to the issuing officer were incorporated.

The administration of the vacation permit law, as in the case of regular employment certificates, was entrusted to the local health officers. While an effort was made to inform these officials in advance regarding the law, the instructions were inadequate and as a result many mistakes were made, through ignorance. The rush of applicants for vacation permits came at the same time as the end of the school term rush for employment certificates and this congestion in some of the working paper offices materially added to the difficulty of making careful examination of the papers and of the children. Furthermore, it was exceedingly hard for the issuing officer to ascertain the exact character of the employment, when a child brought a promise from a prospective employer showing that the child was needed to do "errand work" or to act as "a clerk" in his office. It is not surprising therefore, that many children obtained vacation permits and went to work illegally in factories. On the other hand there was undoubtedly some carelessness on the part of health officers and permits were improperly issued as a result.

Whether or not the new law may be considered beneficial to

the children, depends largely upon the viewpoint of the person whose opinion is sought. Officials of the State Industrial Commission who opposed the passage of the bill are strong in their condemnation of the law. They point to an increased number of children found in factories without employment certificates—many of them having vacation permits—as proof of their contention. A circular letter addressed to superintendents of schools in all the cities of the state brought forth an almost unanimous verdict in favor of the law. Many of them urged that it be extended to include factory labor and some recommended lowering the working age to 12 years. The value of this opinion is somewhat discounted when it is known that in the city where the most active propaganda was carried on for this bill, less than 40 permits were issued and in another city where the superintendent of schools replied that the law was “a great blessing to the poor,” less than 10 permits were issued.

In the larger cities where most of the permits were issued, the vacation permit law undoubtedly has increased the burden on attendance officers in getting children back to school. Whether or not the fact that many children obtained permits, who usually have not worked during the summer, and as a result of this year's experience, applied for regular employment certificates and thus dropped out of school entirely, cannot be established thus far. Statistics in New York City do not show any smaller number of regular employment certificates issued during July, August and September, but rather the reverse. Over 40 per cent of the employers in Greater New York failed to comply with the requirement that the permits must be returned not later than September 3d. No general follow-up or prosecution of these negligent employers was attempted.

As the need for children to work on patriotic grounds will be removed by next summer and as the opportunities for employment should be made available to enlisted men and others thrown out of war work, the argument in favor of a repeal of the vacation permit law is greatly strengthened. Such a move will undoubtedly have the active support of organized labor, of the officials of the Industrial Commission and of many others interested in child welfare throughout the state.

THE NATURE OF CHILDHOOD*

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It is the old theory concerning childhood that the child is merely an undersized adult; that he is a person with the same physical make-up, only that his body is smaller and weaker in its various parts; also, that his moral nature is essentially the same as that of an adult except that it is not under control. The logical conclusion of this theory is that so far as children's interests and natural activities are different from those of adults they are to be tolerated, and if disagreeable to adults they are to be suppressed. These natural activities are looked upon as interfering with, rather than preparing the child for, the legitimate work of life; and the earlier he can be plunged into this work, the better.

Starting with the acceptance of the doctrine of evolution, and continuing through a scientific study of child nature, both physiological and psychological authorities have reached conclusions that flatly contradict the old theory thus stated and have convinced teachers and many parents that old methods of suppression and dictation in dealing with children are wrong. The child, they say, is not merely an undersized adult; he is a very different being. Physically, the human body passes through certain stages of development; these are somewhat the same as the stages through which the race has developed. It is quite certain that our remote ancestors dwelt in caves and before that they probably went on all fours; back still farther they may have led an amphibious existence. At any rate, physiologists tell us that at a certain stage it is difficult to see the difference between the human fetus and that of a lower animal; at another stage the human fetus is covered with short hairs, and at another shows signs of the gill slits found in fish. The new-born babe has power to grasp and to hang by the arms proportionately

*Part of an address delivered before La Crosse business men at a meeting held under the auspices of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin.

far beyond that of the adult. There are in our bodies certain useless organs that seem to be remnants of outgrown physical states. All of these matters I mention merely to enforce the idea that the human body passes through certain stages of development. The young boy then is not a complete adult in all but size and strength. His physical constitution is in a state of development *through which it should pass completely*, without interference, if it is to become that of a normal adult.

The same is true of his mental and moral nature. As an infant, until the age of 6, he is plastic, imitative, easily led, and affectionate. At about that age comes a change that all parents know about; he becomes wilful, and selfish; he is a little savage in cruelty; he lies and steals, it may be, without apparently knowing why he should not. At about the age of fourteen there comes another great change. This is the age of adolescence, of sex development. His large bones grow rapidly; he becomes lazy; he seeks companions in a "gang;" he wants to go off wandering; and he rebels against authority. Play seems to be his chief end in life. Now, many old school parents and educators regarded these peculiar and somewhat disagreeable phenomena as totally undesirable, to be eradicated as soon as possible. It is the newer idea that these peculiarities of the adolescent age are signs of a normal and necessary stage in physical and moral development. If a boy should be made to omit this state he would become an abnormal adult. It would be as impossible to develop a healthy, normal man in this way as it would be to develop a butterfly that was never a caterpillar or a frog that was never a tadpole.

Now, what is the connection between these facts and child labor laws? In the age of adolescence, extending with boys from the age of 14 to 16 or 17, certain characteristics show themselves for which the boy is no more responsible than the tadpole is for his tail. These characteristics make the boy's nature demand certain things that are in many instances exactly contrary to the requirements that are made if he goes into a factory at that age. First, the large bones and muscles of his body must have much exercise; but the finer movements cannot well be accomplished. In other words, the boy is in the "awkward age;" there is lack of close co-ordination between his nervous and muscular systems; they have not become fully adjusted. Hence the number of accidents with boys is twice that with adults. We say he is careless; he says he

can't help it—and *he can't*. Second, in this age the boy rebels against authority. This is his saving grace; his will is developing, and he will never be of much account until it does. Third, his nature demands variety of scene and occupation and tempts him to wander off from home and work. But factory life is monotonous; hence he floats from one factory to another. Fourth, when he gets interested in a piece of work he wants to see it through, and not leave it half finished. But in most factories he finishes only a part of the product upon which he is working, and so is deprived of the very training that he needs at this age. Lastly, one of the strongest demands of boy nature at this age is that for *play*. Now, many adults look upon play as simply a childish luxury fit only for those children who do not need to work. Psychologists, on the other hand, regard the play of children as the means by which alone they develop their physical and moral natures into those of manhood and womanhood. Space will not permit the full discussion of this topic; but it may be said, in brief, that children are educated more by their play than in any other one way. Factory life that deprives children of the opportunity to play stunts their natures; they become either dullards and weaklings or develop criminal tendencies.

The same general principles that have been stated as governing boy life apply to the natural development of girls. Besides, the physical characteristics of the adult female, are such as to unfit her for much of the factory life that she is now undertaking. For example, the bony structure of the pelvic organs and the construction of the knee and foot are different from those of males and are such as to make long standing injurious. For an untold number of generations, women have developed physically in such a way that housework and not factory work is their normal activity. Housework involves a great variety of physical movements, some while the woman is sitting, some while she is standing. Now within a few generations, we are trying to force her physical constitution to do a different kind of work. Moreover, woman's physical nature is much more susceptible to outward bad conditions than man's is. We are told that out of every one hundred days women are in a semi-pathological condition from fourteen to sixteen days. The strain, monotony, and speed of factory work are abnormal; hence sterility, due to long hours; hence accidents, due to overstrain; hence puny children, due to exhaustion.

In brief, the employment of women and children for long hours and at wrong times as a result of modern commercial life tends to warp their physical natures out of the lines in which they have been developing for thousands of years. This indictment does not lie against a moderate amount of light household employment for girls; nor against a similar amount of labor for boys on the farm. Yet there are farmers who will put their children to hard, stunting work, who would not think of hitching a yearling colt to a plow.

It is out of the wrecks of factory life that race degeneracy comes, with poverty, illiteracy, and crime as accompaniments. Where is the economy? Who is going to buy your goods ten years from now? Will it be a fully developed, healthy, intelligent mass of people? Or a crowd that is unable to earn a good living? Which group will buy more goods then? Imagine a procession, ten years away, but headed for your factory or your store, and sure to arrive with money in hand to buy your goods unless something interferes. Would you not protest if an enemy should attack the column and cripple some who would never thereafter be able to earn enough to furnish comfortable homes; if another should spread germs of disease in the procession that would lessen its numbers; if a third enemy of mankind should imprison some of the children, who would then fall behind and never be able to catch up with the procession, or, if able, then with lowered earning power? The children of today are the customers of tomorrow. Self-interest alone on the part of every manufacturer and merchant should demand for every child a healthy, normal childhood. It is said that the wages of the average child beginning work at 16 overtake those of one who began at 14 in less than two years; and that the latter earns less in the aggregate than the former. Again, it is stated that for every dollar earned by a child under the age of fourteen, tenfold will be taken from his earning power, *and consequently from his purchasing capacity*, in later years. Such are some of the considerations that make our present extension of legislation covering the work of women and children both rational and far-sighted.

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